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THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

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With John H. Randall Jr. of Columbia University as President, this society was founded there January 20th. A committee of ACLS, appointed in 1938, has been instrumental in the organization of regional conferences in various sections of the country, and the new society has some thousand members. Classicists on the advisory council are: Ernest L. Hettich (NYU), Martin R. P. McGuire (Cath. U. of Amer.), Edward A. Robinson (Fordham). The editor of its

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THE TEACHER'S SCRAPBOOK

Edited by Grace L. Beede

GRASS ROOTS LATIN*

ALMOST PROVERBIAL are the comments of Professor Brander Matthews of Columbia University to Nicholas Murray Butler, in their discussion on plagiarism: "In the case of the first man to use an anecdote, there is originality; in the case of the second, there is plagiarism; with the third, it is lack of originality; and with the fourth, it is drawing from common stock." "Yes," broke in President Butler, "and in the case of the fifth it is research."

When I first considered the theme, "Grass Roots Latin," I carefully made notation of my thoughts on several points, then started to do some reading which, in the press of past activities, I had completely neglected. The longer I read, the greater my consternation. When every point I had rather vaguely thought my own was found to have been expatiated upon at length and proclaimed for all, I abandoned my dream of any highly original study. I wish neither to be a plagiarist nor to admit that I lack originality. To draw from common stock is so dull that this paper is unquestionably the result of my research, yet I shall not be surprised to find some of you recognizing old friends throughout.

"Grass Roots Latin," the unshakeable foundation for today's citizen of the world, is an urgent must in any educational program. If only "wishing would make it so," our task would be much simpler. You will recall Plato's myth of how spirits of the other world came back to find new bodies. Finally came Ulysses. Not discouraged because he was the last to choose, he looked for the life of a common man and said he would have chosen the same had he come first. To us has been tossed the challenge to overcome full schedules, to compete for the time of students attracted by dramatic, literary, athletic, musical and vocational activities; the challenge to create enough interest to attract not only the pre-college student, but the potential farmer and his wife, or filling station operator, or factory laborer, and all the other non-professionals who enter as freshmen and are able to carry through a four year high school

course successfully; the challenge to prove to these students, who seem at times almost to defy you to teach them anything, that word-derivation, grammatical relationship, the thought and poetry of men of 2000 years ago, or Roman life and history, could possibly mean anything to them—the modern would-be sophisticates of 1954, who know more about space ships, the possibilities of the year 2000 A.D., and the moon, than they do of the year 44 B.C.

Once the challenge is joined as a guiding force, inspiration comes to the rescue with encouragement, creative flashes, and idyllic dreams improbable of attainment. Rarely do we meet with a genius. If there is one in the school, he is occupied with not only Latin but three or four other exacting and time-consuming studies, is a member of at least four clubs, spends several hours a week in choruses, more in band, and still more in the various athletic programs. He never fails to be a member of a play cast, is always on all the committees for school dances and parties, frequently earns at least his spending money in a job after school and on week-ends, and, in his spare time, helps guide the Teen Canteen and participates in his church activities. Just mentally to follow him about for one day exhausts me.

But our aim is not to create geniuses; it is to build the Greek and Renaissance ideal man, "the well-rounded individual." Instead of being envious of the time he spends on other arts, we urge him on, glorying in his development of industry, scholarship, and leadership, asking only that he save enough time for us—not to be a genius, but a student with a stable foundation for a cultural life with an appreciative awareness of the world in which he lives.

Yet it is not even for such a student that we gear our classes. For the most part we struggle along with that "average" American student, who is interested part of the time, whose background is only a part of what we should like it to be and whose mental ability is only partly used. We strive to persuade him to fill in the weak background, to live up to his mental abilities, to keep studiously alert in class and persistent in preparation. We attract, coax,

train in study habits, drill, furnish mental pabulum, penalize and reward him according to his successes and failures.

In one of the ancient academies, the students had a three years' course. In the first year, they were called the wise men; in the second, they were called the philosophers—those who wished to be wise men; in the third year, they were called disciples or learners. Perhaps the greatest headache of the modern high school faculty, not only in Latin but in all courses, is the extensive inclination of students to be complacent with being at best wise men and philosophers, and with no aspiration to be disciples or learners.

To meet the challenge of these students of ours, we use as many "enlivening" ideas and devices as time, ability, money, and occasion permit, but find to our surprise that none are more effective than the derivative, grammatical and historical background that interests a student when he meets it again in English, history, science, civics or other classes. Then he feels he has shaken hands with an old friend, and he turns to that friend again to see what else he can learn from him. Multitudinous have been the suggestions for popularizing Latin. Few of them are original with us. Our esteemed classical scholars at times would probably look down their Roman noses at our various adaptations, but occasionally it is a question of adapt or abandon. Like the lame Athenian who was laughed at by his fellow soldiers, we reply, "We are here to fight, not to run."

Inspiring songs, colorful notebooks, painstaking projects, newspapers, garish bulletin boards, elaborate Open House exhibits, blackboard tidbits, the brilliant lights of the puppet theater, the challenge of state contests, the ever popular Roman banquet, steal as much time from the Ablative Absolute and expressions of purpose as the individual teacher dares let pass unnoticed. Jokes, parodies, humorous bits of poetry in English or Latin, slip in the doorway and monopolize a couple of minutes that might otherwise be spent on what was once called the passive periphrastic. Novels and biographies, recommended and on occasion discussed in the classroom, add depth; and the Romans are no longer dead, but living people with loves and hates, politics and war, youth and age, with problems common to all races and nations.

The Latin Club, whatever its name, is sometimes the medium through which much of this correlated information is dispensed. It is the experimental laboratory to deter-

mine the popularizing ideas that are effective and those that are too time-consuming for the benefit derived. Always a symbol of more work for the teacher, the Latin Club is sometimes shunted aside and allowed to lapse, but through its agency Latin can remain a fascinating story even to those who may have failed in the maze of the grammatical labyrinth. Membership in these clubs, open to all who have studied Latin and have expressed their interest by continuous membership, presents a spirited group with broad background, that can be more effective in arousing enthusiasm than the more scholarly activities of the "exclusive intellectual few."

One of the best means of popularizing Latin has been carried out rather uniformly in the past two decades: simplification of grammatical construction. Emphasis only on major cases, tenses, forms, and constructions has tended to make Latin a more inviting subject. Every day more and more ways of simplifying the teaching of Latin are being developed, and I concur wholeheartedly, provided we avoid the pitfall of mistaking lack of knowledge for simplification.

I am inclined to disagree with the point of the story about the botanist who found a beautiful plant by the wayside. After carefully analyzing it under a microscope, he knew the color of the flower, its classification, and the number of stamens, pistils, petals and bracts; but the life, beauty and fragrance were gone. Yes, perhaps, gone for this one flower; but the next time he sees its counterpart, he will be able to enjoy more fully its glorious beauty plus the wonder of its formation without questioning curiosity. His appreciation of beauty is enhanced through his knowledge of its component elements. He will no longer want to tear the blossom to pieces but will be content to marvel at its beauty and meditate on the enigma of creation.

That we may successfully cope with these numerous challenges our aim must be charted, a definite goal to be reached by the most direct, but not the driest, route. No well-planned, well-executed Latin schedule is complete today without thought for value to the community. A definite program of local publicity can easily be a part of every Latin teacher's project. Why should the language teachers of America refrain from tooting their horns when every vocational department is blasting its materialistic wares into the community loud speakers. We, the teachers of academic subjects, have been too proud and smug in our educational

cells to join in the tooting. But he who toots the loudest is heard. Newsworthy items are not difficult to find in an active Latin department, and it needs little effort to see that newsnotes reach the editor of the local paper, as well as the correspondents for the two or three other "city" papers in circulation not only in the community itself but in an area within a radius of at least one hundred miles. Clever is the teacher who can befriend the editor of the local newspaper by placing in his hands a profusion of quotes, bits of poetry, clippings, anecdotes, stranger-than-fiction incidents from Greek and Roman writers. Eventually they too will find their way into the newspapers as fill-in. Latin unobtrusively but definitely will be reaching the community eye.

But we are not mere publicity seekers. Better than all printed publicity is actually being an integral part of community life. What have we to offer the community? Leaders! Political, social, business, philosophical, religious? It makes no difference. There is a crying need in all fields. "The smaller the world gets, the bigger man must be to live in it."

The continual pressure for a more practical education for the majority who never go to college is being met by an opposing pressure for a better-educated, clearer-thinking minority, better fitted to help solve problems of world-wide dimension. Slowly and surely the realization is unfolding that these problems are not going to be solved except by leaders who can mentally comprehend a composite picture of all major civilizations of the past, plus an understanding of the mental processes of the nations of the Twentieth Century, an understanding that is attained more readily through an acquaintance with native tongues. This indispensable background is acquired best through the mother language, Latin. In ever-widening circles, the waves of linguistic attainment encompass the Romance languages and ripple on to the languages of Russia and the East. As one of the spokes in a gigantic wheel of future leadership, we turn to meet this demand for cultured leaders, thoroughly grounded in linguistics as well as in economic, social, physical and political sciences.

In the small community, most social activity is local and centered in the school and church. Why should not Latin step into this picture as no other department in the school is able to do? Programs, pageants, pagan and Christian, activate the Latin department as well as keep the Latin teacher awake nights. Pageants are always good for

community and church programs alike, particularly the colorful pageantry of Christmas and Easter. Too often in the community mind, Latin is associated with the pagan gods and goddesses or the early Christian persecutions, and not with the enormous contributions the Roman Empire and the Medieval World made to the Christian religion through the medium of Latin. A study of Latin hymns, Latin Christian poetry, in original or translation, as classroom work or extra project, is interesting and valuable, community-wise or individually. Thus Latin "like the gentle rain from heaven" seeps into the "grassroots" and flourishes.

RUTH DONALDSON

Oregon, Illinois

* Paper read at 1953 University of Kentucky Foreign Language Conference and at the 1954 Illinois Classical Conference, Decatur.

LATIN FOR LISTENING

Do YOU EVER get that tired feeling? You do teach, don't you? What do you do when you get that tired feeling? When I am fed up with learning and learners, I turn to the lakes, mountains, clouds, trees, and my record player. They all have therapeutic value for me and seem to banish the burden and crow's feet.

It was resorting to the record player for relaxation that started my collection of records related to mythology, which I enjoy in my own cubicle and have used in my classes when they get that tired feeling. My present proximity to Broadway and the great Music Halls makes me all the more conscious of how heavily the creative artists draw upon classical sources and themes for programs and germs for new representation and refreshing treatment, to wit the new musical, "The Golden Apple" and talked-of revival of "Pygmalion" and the films in the making: "Ulysses," "The Golden Fleece," and "Hercules." But back to music. I should like to recommend the following for use in your classes in connection with the reading materials in the texts, and in your Latin clubs. They are good listening and provide opportunity for correlation, integration, and cultural upgrading, desirable means and ends in this educational game we play.

"Tales from Olympus" narrated by Ronald Coleman

Berlioz: Suite from The Trojans at Carthage

Offenbach: Ballet Suite from Helen of Troy

Offenbach: Orpheus in Hades (overture)

Purcell: Dido and Aeneas (opera)

Berlioz: The Roman Carnival (overture)

Respighi: The Pines of Rome (symphonic poem)
 Respighi: The Fountains of Rome (symphonic poem)
 Respighi: Bread and Circuses (symphonic poem)
 Mozart: Symphony No. 41 in C ("Jupiter")
 Chopin: Les Sylphides
 Air de Moïse from the Cantata "Phoebus and Pan"
 Scriabine: Prometheus (symphony)
 Stravinsky: Oedipus Rex (opera-oratorio)
 Franck: Psyche (suite)
 Saint-Saëns: Phaeton (symphonic poem)
 Debussy: Sirenes
 Gluck: Orpheus and Eurydice (opera)
 Handel: Heracles (oratorio)
 Saint-Saëns: Le Rouet d'Omphale (symphonic poem)
 Gluck: Iphigenie en Aulide (opera)
 Strauss, Richard: Elektra
 Debussy: L'Après-midi D'Un Faune

In very humorous vein, the new popular hit: "The Sobbin Women" based on Stephen Vincent Benet's short story, "The Sobbin Women", based on the legend of the Sabine.

Then sung in Latin are these lovely numbers:

Franck: Panis Angelus
 Bach: Jesu, Joy of Man's Desiring
 Medieval Hymns (Harvard recordings)
 Except for the Harvard recordings, these musical highlights can be obtained in all speeds and played and sung by outstanding orchestras and artists.

What about a listening library? Work your Audio and Music departments for some additions. They help you over that plateau, plus being enriching.

State Teachers College
 Montclair, N. J.

CAROLYN BOCK

PROFESSIONAL READING AND REFERENCES

Carolyn Bock, State Teachers College, Montclair, N.J., sends two of her helpful compilations: a list of provocative articles in leading professional magazines that "might be standard professional reading for those who are as far behind as I am;" and a list of several courses of study, useful for reference.

Professional Articles

Lloyd, "Snobs, Slobs, and the English Language," *American Scholar*, July '51.

Sweet, "A Linguistic Approach to the Teaching of Latin," *Language Learning* 4, '51-'52.

———, "The Horizontal Approach," and

"Classics and Linguistics," *CW*, Jan, '53.
 Toliver, H.M., "Latin: Real Aims vs. Doubtful Trimmings," *Clearing House*, Nov. '50.

Freundlich, C.I., "New Approach to the Study of Latin," *High Points*, June, '50.

Klein and Eldridge, "Latin Has a Place in the Curriculum of the Modern High School," *Nation's Schools*, Sept. '50.

Diamond, E.C., "Teaching Latin in High School Defeats Purposes of Modern Curriculum," June, '50.

Clim, O.M., "Are You Educated in Foreign Language?" *Mod. Lang. Jour.*, Feb. '52.

Bull and DeWitt, "School and Reality," *School and Society*, Feb. 16, '52.

Dunkel, H.R., "Major Emphasis for Latin Instruction," *Education*, June, '47.

"Latin Leads Foreign Language in Ohio," *School Management*, Oct. '49.

Withers, A.M., "Keep Latin in the Schools," *Association of American Colleges Bulletin*, Oct. '47.

Ullman, B.L., "What High School Graduates Think about Subject Values," *Education*, June, '47.

Jackson, M.L., "Expanding Concepts in Latin," *School Review*, May, '48.

Blake, W.E., "Why Go on with Latin?" *School and Society*, May 7, '49.

Bestor, A.E., "Anti-Intellectualism in the Schools," *New Republic*, Jan. 19, '53.

———, "Liberal Education and a Liberal Nation," *American Scholar*, Apr. '52.

"Inexpensive Books for Teaching the Classics," *CW*, Jan. 5, '53.

"Job Opportunities in Foreign Languages," *Mod. Lang. Jour.*, Jan., '51.

Trager, G.L., "Linguistics," *Science*, Nov. 9, '51.

Foley, L., "Modern Crime Of Linguicide," *School and Society*, May 5, '51.

Withers, "Divided They Fall. The Languages That Is," *School and Society*, Apr. 7, '51.

Hocking, E., "Gift of Tongues—Reasons for Teaching Foreign Languages," *N.E.A. Jour.*, Apr. '50.

Bloomfield, "About Foreign Language Teaching," *Yale Rev.*, June, '45.

State Courses of Study

Tentative Guide for Montana High Schools, '45; State Department of Public Instruction, Helena

Language Arts, Foreign Language Bulletin 3C, '42; Missouri State Department of Education, Columbia

Course of Study in Latin for the High Schools of Virginia, '45; State Board of Education, Richmond

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THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

Volume 49 Number 8

MAY 1954

What Is "Classical" Sculpture?

SCULPTURE TODAY is a dead art, Max Beerbohm once declared; and everyone will admit it, except a sculptor—or a sculptor's mother. We must, I think, agree with him to this extent: sculpture is not one of our major arts; the temper of our times has found more adequate expression in literature, music, drama, and the dance. But that is no reason for neglecting the substantial values which sculpture has to offer. Indeed, as we study great past periods of the human adventure, we find that this art, now relatively neglected, was very much alive, was often, in fact, the most satisfying and inspiring of all the arts. And it may be that we need today more of the values which it can give. In any event, by a study of the meaning of one phase of it, classical sculpture, we may come to realize better what those values are.

What is classical sculpture? Few words have been treated in a more cavalier fashion by historians and critics than the term "classical." Used by the Latin grammarian Aulus Gellius in the second century to distinguish superior from inferior literature,

it was widely adopted by French, German, and English writers in the seventeenth century; and since that time has been one of the stock terms of criticism, applied either to the literature and art of ancient Greece and Rome or to later works which presumably deserved the same high rating. For the assumption has been that those ancient productions were in a class by themselves, and that it was the first class. Even critics who refused to grant the last part of the assumption accepted the term as descriptive of ancient literary and plastic art.

How generally accepted it has been is clear from a study of many books dealing with Greek and Roman sculpture. In them "classical sculpture" has been virtually a synonym for "Greek and Roman sculpture." And certain characteristics of it have been cited in sweeping terms, such as generalization, idealism, harmony, fine proportion, simplicity, dignity, clarity, symmetry, directness, nobility. The generalization which many of these critics have found in ancient art has certainly met its match in their own capacity for generalization.

Of course we can hardly avoid using such terms; but the specific instances which they classify should be as clearly distinguished as possible. And if we are to define as "classical" all art produced in ancient Greece and Rome, the word obviously has little meaning; for during the millennium in which those civilizations created works of art a tremendous variety was produced. Sculpture ranged from the stark geo-

Friends of the charming author (in other words, all who have met him and so come under the spell of that ingratiating smile) will be glad to know that, though his heart is functioning better for others than for himself, he is coming along well—if at a prudently slower pace.

For his consecutiveness, lucidity and literary style, unorthodox though they be in an archaeologist—who is apt to let his potsherds think for him, we crave the reader's indulgence.

metric abstraction of the eighth century B.C. to fusion of design and naturalism in the time of Pericles and the extreme realism of Roman portraits; from the romantic impressionism of Praxiteles and the Alexandrians to the rugged drama of Scopas and the sculptors of Pergamon; from the enthusiastic experimentation of the sixth century B.C. to the tired eclecticism of the second century A.D. Surely there is such variety here that the word "classical" has no meaning whatever except as a nondescript tag of time and place.

Nor has it meaning in terms of subject matter. Virtually all subjects — gods and heroes, statesmen and athletes, patriotic monuments, scenes of everyday life, personifications of abstract qualities — were treated by those sculptors. Nor has it meaning in terms of tools and techniques; the same wide variety is found in technical processes, from the delicate use of abrasives to coarse excavation by the running drill.

The question then arises: out of all this so-called classical sculpture can we discover any one sort which we can isolate and establish more precisely as having the characteristics applied, often erroneously, to Greek and Roman sculpture in general? And then, by analyzing that sculpture, can we come to a better understanding of its essential, classical character?

I believe that we can, and that we shall find the answer in Greek sculpture created for the most part between 500 and 420 B.C. There, out of all the ancient sculpture termed classical, seems to be sculpture uniquely and preeminently of the first class. This is not to say that works created during earlier and later periods were inferior in every respect; indeed, when we appraise them from certain points of view they were superior: in decorative charm or illustrative, romantic, and dramatic appeal, in technical virtuosity or realistic exactness. All I am claiming is this: that in defining the term "classical", if we are to mean anything precise in artistic terms, we shall

find that meaning best expressed in sculpture created during the fifth century B.C. Let us examine a few of those works of art, in an attempt to discover their meaning.

Classical Standards

THE PROLOGUE to our study will be a bronze statuette of Hermes carrying a ram (Fig. 1), made about 500 B.C.¹ This is a healthy human figure, not



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distorted or grotesque. Indeed, it should not be; for Hermes was, among other things, a patron god of athletes. But, far from being realistic, it conforms to a geometric pattern. Our first impression is of a rather simple two-dimensional mass, emphatic and clear, uncomplicated by conflicting planes and obstructive detail. But once this major mass has been established, a more subtle geometry reveals itself. The extended left leg is balanced by the right arm, the right leg by the bent left arm; the hair has a pattern of corkscrew curls and parallel incisions; and the simple folds of drapery are neatly planned.

Next we may observe how the main contours and planes have been amplified, with just enough accentuation of a few muscles to indicate Hermes' strength and speed of foot. Superfluous detail has been eliminated; the essentials have been underscored. And finally note the careful attention to the refinement of detail: the crisp cutting of eyes, nose, and ears; the subtly carved body of the ram, especially its alert face; and the elegant sandals.

Here are found, I suggest, four elements which characterize most of the sculpture of the fifth century. (1) *The initial concept of a healthy human form* in an attitude suggesting successful activity. The sculptor was interested in people who were physically attractive and well-adjusted to life. (2) *The synthesis of naturalism and clearly defined, relatively simple designs.* These human forms, adequately naturalistic, were placed in positions of geometric design, largely two-dimensional, with restrained use of the third dimension. And these designs were formulated on a basis of major geometry, the primary lines and masses horizontal and vertical, the secondary ones employing curves and reverse curves or diagonals and reverse diagonals, with minor details worked into reinforcing and contrasting patterns. (3) *The amplification of essential planes.* The carving or modeling of surfaces was expansive,

with unimportant details eliminated; and the chief planes were given broad, firm treatment. (4) *Refinement of detail.* Every detail considered worthy of being included was treated with loving care, the contours carefully studied, the surfaces thoughtfully finished, subtle variety introduced to avoid anything mechanical and commonplace. The total result was a welding of intellectual and sensuous elements into a unity appealing alike to the mind and the emotions.

Further Examples

HERE AT THE BEGINNING OF Greek classical sculpture, we see its basic characteristics. Some twenty-five years later a bronze statue of a charioteer



was dedicated at Delphi, representing the self-assured driver riding past the stands after his victory to receive the applause of the spectators. The figure has three chief elements of design: the folds of the Ionic chiton below the belt stand in substantial masses like a fluted column; above the belt they bil-

low out, sharpening near the throat to diagonals; then over the shoulders and upper arms they curve in rippling waves. There is a further geometric element in the position of the body: the head turns a bit toward the right, the arm is bent slightly as a balance to the left. Here again the major form is massive, simple, ample, with extraneous detail eliminated. But there is delicacy in the occasional details that are emphasized: the long, slender hands, for instance, the veins of the feet, the downy hair on the cheeks, the incised pattern of hair above and the ringlets framing the face, the eyes filled with onyx and white enamel. This figure has that "tender gravity and vitality" which William Zorach sees in the best Greek sculpture.²

Made shortly before the *Charioteer* is a kneeling figure, *Heracles the Archer*, originally on the east pediment of the Temple of Aphaia at Aegina, of which J. D. Beazley wrote: "If a single figure had to be chosen to represent the ripe archaic sculpture, would it not be the archer Heracles, himself tense as a drawn bow?"³ Although this figure may be called ripe archaic, it is none the less classical: it achieves a synthesis of adequately naturalistic form, clear geometric design, and sensitively-felt detail. It gives the impression of a healthy body, without obvious distortion which would compel the spectator to adjust himself to a bizarre rendition of the human form. But this figure also assumes a geometric form: basically a strong triangle within a square frame, in which the dominant lines are horizontal and vertical, with contrasting diagonals. The checker-board pattern carved across part of the jerkin repeats the horizontals and verticals, with each square cut obliquely, flush with the surface on the left, carved in deep on the right, so that the shadows which are cast emphasize the pattern. Slight curves then serve to redeem the figure from rigidity; for example, the transition from the torso



to the lower part of the body is softened by the flaps of the jerkin and the folds of the chiton, which ripple down and backward until they repeat in minor rhythm the vertical lines of the flaps. Furthermore, the figure, in addition to the dynamic design which conveys the sense of power effectively disciplined and directed, has the refinement of detail which distinguishes art from sheer geometry and superior sculpture from the commonplace. Crispness, clarity, and grace are present in the carving of the lion's head helmet, the sharply defined eyes, brows, lips, and ears. If the major masses are broad and expansive, the few muscles and tendons that serve to suggest the energy summoned are emphasized with delicate precision.

Standing in the center of the west pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia was a majestic figure of Apollo, carved about 460 B.C. Although Apollo, like Hermes, was a patron god of athletes, here he is represented rather in his role as the calm, reflective god of insight, as he holds firm control over the fighting Lapiths and Centaurs on each side of him; he represents not only physical but also spiritual health. This concept of the god is reinforced by the expansive treatment; there is very little detail, either in the

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body or the drapery (obviously in a figure sixty feet above the spectator any intricate detail would be ironed out). The design is correspondingly simple; the only variety is in the horizontally outstretched right arm, the left leg swung very slightly back, and the pattern of deeply grooved parallel waves of hair. The eyes are sharply cut, with pronounced lids, and the ears are beautifully shaped. The drapery, far from being realistic, is soberly architectural, with the few heavy folds clinging flatly to the body. Certainly the architectural requirements are responsible for the essential character of this figure: the sense of chisel and carved stone, the vertical mass (which repeats the columns below as the extended arm repeats the entablature), the elimination of detail which would be inconsistent with the Doric austerity of the building. But this *Apollo* also has meaning in its own right as an independent statue; the design, the carving, the expression, all indicate power in repose, an equilibrium of physical and intellectual forces.

The sure synthesis of naturalism and design achieved during the time of Phidias appears in a majestic bronze statue of Zeus hurling his thunderbolt. This statue, lost in a shipwreck in ancient times, was recovered in 1928 by divers off the coast of Euboea. The body is more naturalistic than those of the Delphi *Charioteer*, the *Heracles*, or the *Apollo*; by the middle of the fifth century sculptors had removed the last traces of archaic rigidity. The muscles of torso, arms, and legs are accurately modeled, and there is considerable variety in the planes of the face. But realism has not supplanted clear, firm design; it is indeed, still playing a somewhat subordinate role.

As the century wore on, a mood of grace tempered the monumental serenity of the Periclean period. A good example is Paeonius' *Victory*, erected on a lofty base at Olympia about 420 B.C. The accent is on the clean, springing silhouette, as the goddess, breasting



the wind, descends on those whom she favors; the drapery is of two types, clinging like wet silk to her body, billowing out in curving folds behind her to repeat the grace of her form. There is no mechanical repetition in pattern or carving; all is gently varied. And there is nothing over-elaborate to detract from the bright, swift meaning.

We need not dwell longer on the first of our classical characteristics: the basic concept of human beings in full possession of health, vigor, and poise, masters of whatever situation confronts them. That will be found in all of our examples. Next we shall study the refinements and complexities in the remaining three factors, as they are revealed in the treatment of relief sculpture.

Relief Sculpture

THE METOPES on the Temple of Zeus at Olympia resemble the *Apollo* in the expansive carving of bodies, faces, and drapery, but introduce varied designs of two or three bodies within the square frame. Some of them are based on a triangle, some on a circle. The one picturing Atlas bringing the apples of

the Hesperides to Heracles is perhaps the simplest of the lot, merely three vertical forms connected by the gestures. Atlas holds his arms toward Heracles, whose head is bent slightly forward; Heracles' arms thrust back toward Athena, who quietly raises her left arm to help him bear his burden. The central position of Heracles and the rhythm of arms make him properly the focus of attention. The uniform plane of the background, which throws the figures into clear, strong relief, is typical of classical sculpture, in contrast to the various levels of romantic and realistic reliefs which, with their undulating backgrounds, produce the illusion of atmospheric depth. The classical relief, if less picturesque, is superior in structural clarity.

Similar characteristics appear in a metope made for Temple E at Selinus in Sicily, representing Zeus and Hera pledging their troth. Here against a uniform background, are two figures, Zeus seated on his throne, Hera standing beside him as she removes her veil. The masses are diagonal and vertical; Zeus' left arm hangs down parallel to the frame, and Hera's drapery does the same on the opposite side. The figures are unified by the gesture as Zeus extends his right hand to grasp the wrist of Hera's left arm; this symbolic gesture fittingly serves as the center of interest. Note how a basic rhythmic pattern is repeated several times: a curve, a straight line, a reverse curve. This is typical of classical compositions; likewise the stress on horizontal and vertical masses. Although the treatment of detail is summary, there is pleasant refinement in the pattern of Zeus' hair and beard and the contrast between the delicate chiton and heavier himation of Hera.

On the Parthenon frieze, picturing the Panathenaic procession in honor of Athena, we find the same uniform background as in the metopes; but against it the formations are much more complex, including equestrian figures riding abreast. All of the move-



ment is lateral, with no emergence from the background, and a flexible weaving of postures and gestures keeps the movement steadily progressive. The details, carefully subordinated, show continuous variety in the folds of costumes and the crisp cutting of muscles, sinews, and manes of the horses.

Similar principles of design appear in architectural groups of figures in the round, in which three-dimensional movement was kept subdued and the figures appeared in relief against a pedimental background.

In more massive terms the group on the east pediment of the Parthenon, the *Three Fates*, repeats a structural formation similar to that of the metopes and frieze. First, the major masses were determined, set in contrasting positions: the one on the left full front, the middle one in three-quarters position, the one on the right in profile. They rise naturally to fit into the triangle of the pediment. The three are unified effortlessly by the inclination of the forms and the position of the arms. Then, once the major masses and composition were established, a

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wealth of subtle detail was incorporated by means of the drapery. But this drapery is by no means merely decorative; it has an organic relationship to the bodies, leading the eye laterally from one to the next up the ascending line of the pediment, and also building the forms into three dimensions by weaving from the background outward and around the torsos and thighs. And there is nothing mechanical, nothing standardized, nothing dry-edged about the folds; with the most delicate difference in cutting, in strong accentuation followed by rippling curves, they perform their structural function.

It is worthy of note that so much of this Greek sculpture served as architectural decoration. The close cooperation between the two arts encouraged sculptors to see the human form in terms of geometric relationships and produce monumental rather than pictorial compositions.

Even in the modest art of the cutter of gravestones the same artistic quality is found. In the stela of Hegeso the two bodies are strongly defined, with drapery and gestures emphasizing the chief figure and providing a unifying pattern. The concept is a sunny one of a characteristic situation in everyday life: the lady takes pleasure in looking at her jewels, brought to her by a servant. The serenity of the concept is reinforced by the quiet composition.

Portraits

THE PERIOD which we are studying was not one devoted to the portraiture of contemporary people. Divinities and traditional heroes were the popular subjects of sculpture. But from the heads which we have already seen we can conclude what was expected and what was realized in a portrait.

First, we must admit the limitations. As we survey the general history of the sculptural portrait, three types of work may be distinguished: the baldly realistic, as in many Roman and Renaissance heads; the impressionistic inter-



pretation of character realized so effectively by the *morbidezza* treatment of the Alexandrians and the "lump and depression" technique of Rodin; and the structurally significant. It is obvious that classical treatment was not suited at all to realistic rendition, and could not do justice to subtle variations of personality. What it could do surpassingly well was to record the most important aspects of character, probing beneath the surface to the structure of the head, emphasizing the main lines and planes which reveal the essential nature of the subject. This is not the only approach to portraiture; and undoubtedly the faces lack the warmth and charm of impressionistic studies and the rugged accuracy of realism. But they have their own validity; and the Delphi *Charioteer* and portraits on the gravestones prove that they need not be lacking in a quiet radiance of expression.

Classical Idealism

Now THE SCULPTURE has spoken for itself. Can we sum up what it has to say?

The answer is not an easy one. As we have seen, these are complex works of art, in spite of their seeming simplicity. Are they "idealistic"? Not in the sense often given, that they represent ideally beautiful human forms. Certainly not in the sense that such ideal forms can be contrived by taking the most beautiful parts from various bodies and combining them into something of surpassing beauty. This notion, fancifully stated by Lucian,⁴ urged seriously by Winckelmann,⁵ and, I regret to say, accepted by as discerning a critic as Miss Richter,⁶ is a pedantic rather than an artistically creative concept. To the sculptor idealism means that he sees the natural, with its inevitable multiplicity of trivial and accidental details, in terms of basic geometric relationships; healthy, confident human beings are interpreted in terms of designs that justify themselves to the mind. So an *artistic* ideal was created by Greek sculptors before their fellow-geometrician, Euclid, "looked on Beauty bare."

But as the basic structure was firmly established, the glow of life was infused into it. The apparent simplicity of this Greek sculpture is only the initial and major impression. The details are subordinated, but those that are chosen are given the most loving attention, they are subtly varied and modulated. Nature and abstract form are happily married — with the wise concessions which every happy marriage makes. The total impression is not one of cold mathematics, of rigid design, of static form; it is one of fresh and radiant vitality.

One important reason for this effect, far too little appreciated by critics and often by artists themselves, is to be found in the method of workmanship employed by the sculptors. Instead of following the mass-production methods of many later periods (including our own) of modeling in clay and having the product mechanically transferred to stone, they cut directly in the stone with instruments (punch, claw-chisel,

abrasives) that made the form gradually emerge from the block as a flower unfolds. Later, as Stanley Casson has explained so cogently in *The Technique of Early Greek Sculpture*, reliance on more convenient tools, such as the flat chisel and the running drill, resulted in much more rapid workmanship, but sacrificed the integrity of the material and the sensitivity of surface.

Social Environment

WE SHOULD NOW, I think, ask ourselves a further question: under what circumstances was sculpture of such a sort created? Art is, to be sure, conditioned by many factors, including the potentialities and limitations of the material, aesthetic traditions, and the individual artist's temperament (is he tough or gentle-minded, intellectual or sensual, happy or frustrated, a rebel or a conformist?); but among them an important factor is the environment of the artist.

This sculpture was the product of free communities. Once the Persian invaders had been repelled, the Greek city-states enjoyed political autonomy, and individuals in many of them could work (as Pericles said) "in the fearless confidence of freedom." Secure from external aggression, they also enjoyed a fair opportunity to make the most of their talents; their individual worth was recognized. To quote Pericles again, "Men are rewarded by the community on the basis of their merit; neither social position nor wealth, but ability alone, determines the service that a man renders."⁷ Furthermore, experimentation was encouraged; there was no single pattern of style imposed by official edict, or single pattern of concept prescribed by religious or political dogma.

And this sculpture was a public art. It was produced, not for wealthy patrons, but for community use; it was sponsored, created, and enjoyed by the people. The artist was regarded, not as an exotic individualist appreciated by only a cult, but as a normal and im-

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portant interpreter of community interests and ideals. The great program of public works in Athens offered opportunities for sculptors to share with city officials, architects, and the informed and critical citizenry in the creation of civic buildings. A similar attitude of social enterprise prevailed in many other Greek cities and in religious centers.

These factors go far to explain the character of classical sculpture: its freshness and vigor, its dignity and balance, its devotion to perfection of detail. The art mirrors the healthy life of free men in a public-spirited society.

Why Classical?

AND NOW WE COME to the question which we asked at the beginning: Why is this first-class sculpture?

Because, I think, in two important respects it performs extraordinarily well the function of that particular art. It is a type of expression especially suited to sculpture, and one which permits the sculptor to render his public an especially valuable service.

First, it suits the materials used, which are simple, massive, and powerful. Other media—painting, the drama, the dance, literature, music — being more flexible and varied, can express many moods and involved interpretations of experience far better than sculpture can; but sculpture, preeminently a *monumental* art, is most truly itself when it recognizes the limitations imposed by its material and makes the most of its strong and sure capacities. Stone, bronze, and wood can, of course, be tortured into all sorts of shapes to express tumultuous scenes and violent moods, and can be manipulated to capture momentary and evanescent charm; but when they are so treated they are accomplishing a technical *tour de force* rather than achieving their most natural function. "Know thyself!" these Greek sculptors said to their materials as well as to themselves.

Secondly, such sculpture meets a uni-

versal need, provides psychological assurance which men constantly seek: balance, security, the organization out of the chaos of life of powerful forms which have unity and coherence, which induce a conviction of certainty and realizable perfection. That this assurance was well appreciated in ancient times is indicated by the appraisal made by Dion Chrysostomos of 'Phidias' celebrated statue of Zeus at Olympia. "When you stand before this statue", he wrote, "you forget every misfortune of our earthly life, even if you have been broken by adversities and grief, and if sleep shuns your eyes."⁸ Call this aesthetic experience a refuge or escape, if you wish; but also recognize it as significant in itself and a possible help in facing life with composure and courage.

I remember while I was working at Delphi a young woman tourist turned away from the *Charioteer* with an irritated shudder. "I can't stand looking at these Greek statues," she exclaimed. "They are so sure of themselves, so complacent." They *are* sure of themselves, and they have a right to be. And perhaps especially today, when we are not so sure of ourselves, in our world of distracting variety, uncertainty, frustration, and fear, such sculpture is especially valuable; it can summon in us a serenity and strengthening of spirit, restore our breadth and poise, renew our faith in human dignity. Any art is genuinely classical which has such permanent interest and value, which meets this basic need.

WALTER R. AGARD

University of Wisconsin

NOTES

¹ Fig. 1 photo by courtesy of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Illustrations of the other well-known sculpture here analyzed may be found in G. M. A. Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*. The photos, in order, by: ignotus, C. Kennedy, Nellys, Anderson, Ali-nari.

² *Zorach Explains Sculpture*, 259-63, is a sensitive appreciation of Greek sculpture.

³ J. D. Beazley and Bernard Ashmole, *Greek Sculpture and Painting*, 29.

⁴ *Eikones*.

⁵ *History of Ancient Art* II, 41 ff., III, 201 ff.

⁶ *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, 26.

⁷ *Thucydides* 2. 37.

⁸ *Inst. orat.* 12. 10.

THE EDITOR *loquens* DICENDA TACENDA

This is the last issue till Fall. Kind comments received on this volume, after our disheartening experience last year, are appreciated. Suggestions to the editor are always in order. He would like a more aggressive policy of asking for papers and planning issues; but there is still an accumulation of back MSS on his conscience.

Teachers are urged to consider the programs of summer workshops (Wisconsin, William and Mary, Minnesota, Indiana, DePaul), the SUI conference, the schools at Athens and Rome. They will not regret having attended one of these or the regular summer session somewhere. The Classical League meeting at Miami in June is another opportunity. We are the better for the guidance and encouragement these gatherings provide.

Edna White writes that, in keen competition, AUDREY COOPER, Regional H.S., Penn's Grove, is the winner of the New Jersey Classical Association Rome Scholarship for this year. Secretary Notopoulos informs me that MAUREEN D. SHUGRUE of Torrington, Conn., Latin teacher at Thomaston (Conn.) H.S., is the recipient of CANE's scholarship for study at the American Academy in Rome this summer. In the absence of Gladys Laird, JONAH SKILES is functioning as president of the *Southern Section*.

For an account of Miss WHITESIDE and her really distinguished achievement through the years, see page 323 of the April *Classical Journal*.

ORESTEIA

A weekend of emphasis on classical Greek is planned at Randolph-Macon Woman's College in Lynchburg, Va., on May 14-15 when a trilogy of plays in original Greek and several other events will be presented. The Greek Festival will be a tribute to Dr. Mabel Kate Whiteside, professor of Greek at Randolph-Macon Woman's College, who produced the first Greek drama at the college on March 13, 1909. Since that time she has directed 40 performances in her 45 years at the college.



This year in the 41st Greek production, students and faculty combine their efforts to present the "Oresteia" trilogy of Aeschylus and what is believed to be the first performance of that trilogy in the United States. Separate plays have been given at Randolph-Macon and elsewhere but the attempt at presentation in sequence on a single day, as trilogies were performed in ancient Greece, is thought to be unique so far as this country is concerned. With a cast of over 100 students and the combined assistance of the Departments of Art and Latin, the Dance Group, the director and students of dramatics, the Department of Music, and alumnae, the "Oresteia" trilogy will be given on Saturday, May 15 in the natural amphitheater on campus.

Other events during the Greek Festival which will be attended by scholars and laymen from throughout the country will be a lecture on Friday night, May 14 by Dr. Anthony Raubitschek, professor of Classics at Princeton University, and the meeting of the *Classical Association of Virginia* on the Randolph-Macon campus. Dr. Raubitschek's subject will be "Aeschylus: An Introduction to the *Oresteia*."

The Consular Elections of 59 B.C.

THE ELECTION of A. Gabinius and L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus to the consulate was not one of the great events of history. It is interesting because it reveals some of the weaknesses of the dynasts, Pompeius, Crassus, and Caesar in the centuriate assembly, and because of the chicanery and intrigue in which the candidates themselves were involved, and the plots and counterplots which their supporters formed.

The consulate was of course a source of *potentia* and *dignitas*. Caesar himself had just demonstrated what a determined and ruthless man could do with the office. Against the opposition of the *optimates* and with a hostile colleague attempting to impede him at every turn he had managed to carry a truly formidable program of legislation, some of it in his own name but most with the aid of the tribune Vatinius who was his lieutenant. He had even secured a province with an army close enough to Italy to be a large dissuading factor in any attempt to use the technical illegalities which tainted most of his legislation as an excuse to nullify it. It appeared that the dynasts had full control of the state. But control had been wrested from the Senate before and then reverted to it. After the consulate of Pompeius and Crassus the optimate group had again gotten control of the consulate, and Pompeius and Crassus were shelved. It was not till 67 B. C. that Pompeius was granted *imperium* again, and the legislation bestowing the power was proposed by a tribune.

Though the dynasts were in a strong position, they could maintain their strength only by union. Cicero seems to have had some hope of detaching Pompeius. Could he be induced to transfer his allegiance to the Senate and recall his veterans to save the state, all would be lost. Moreover Caesar had been given the province of Transalpine Gaul by the Senate, per-

haps with the hope that he would become so deeply involved that he would not be able to interfere with politics at home. The tide of public opinion was also running against the dynasts. Hence it was imperative that they act together to secure the election of consuls favorable to them or, at the very least, not hostile to them. Pompeius and Crassus had a strong interest in the election because the legislative program which Caesar had carried for them would stand or fall with his other *acta*.

The importance of the consular elections was generally recognized in Rome. Cicero writes to Atticus that it is common gossip that Pompeius and Crassus were to stand for the office, but that he gives more credence to correspondents who had informed him that the election of A. Gabinius and Servius Sulpicius Rufus was expected (*ad Att.* 2.5.2). Gabinius had already proved that he was a bold and imaginative politician and he was an active lieutenant of Pompeius. He was a man whose opposition to the *optimates* had been consistent and who was loyal to Pompeius, obviously an ideal candidate for the dynasts (E. M. Sanford, "The Career of Aulus Gabinius," *TAPA* 70 (1939) 64-92). Sulpicius was an expert on law who had prepared himself for a public career by studying oratory under Molon at Rhodes where Cicero had been his classmate. He had already made one unsuccessful attempt to win the consulate in 63 B.C. Realizing that his defeat had been brought about by corrupt practices, he proceeded to prosecute the successful candidate Murena. He was joined in the prosecution by M. Porcius Cato; Cicero, however, defended Murena. If we may trust Cicero's characterization of Sulpicius in the speech for Murena, Sulpicius was not the sort of man to be advanced by either party. His political leanings were probably conservative, though he later displayed some of the

traits of a moderate independent. His misfortune was that he lived in violent and partisan times (PWK 7.851-860).

In the same passage in which he alludes to the various reported candidates for the consulate, Cicero asks Atticus how Arrius is bearing up under being deprived of Caesar's support. Tyrrell and Purser have a cryptic note informing the reader that Arrius was a creature of Caesar, but Arrius had some reason for expecting the aid of Caesar. In the previous year when Caesar was a candidate for the consulate he had sought the aid of Arrius in coming to an understanding with Luceius. Very probably Arrius demanded Caesar's support for his own candidacy in the following year for his part in what was certainly an illegal deal. Luceius was generous in furnishing money for the campaign; Caesar furnished the *gratia*. To prevent the election of both candidates the *optimates* raised a large sum to be spent in bringing about the election of Bibulus, *ne Catone quidem abnuente eam largitionem e republica fieri* (Suet. *div. Iul.* 19.1). Arrius, then, had good reasons for his rage at the consulate being snatched from him; *Iam vero Arrius consulatum sibi ereptum premit* (ad Att. 2.7.3). Caesar, a good example of the political opportunist, probably felt that Arrius' chances were none too good, or else he did not have sufficient weight in the cabal to insist on his choice for the consulate. Arrius, however, seems to have continued to campaign; the public banquet in honor of his dead father is probably related to his candidacy (Cic. in Vat. 12.30).

An untimely death prevented one candidate who was probably acceptable to both the dynasts and the *optimates* from even filing his candidacy. C. Octavius, the father of the future emperor Augustus, had held the praetorship in 61 B.C., put down the roaming bands of the remnants left from the revolt of Spartacus on his way to his province of Macedonia, and, as the letters of

Cicero testify, won respect by his administration of a difficult province. He would have been an ideal compromise candidate, but as Suetonius relates: *Decedens Macedonia, priusquam profiteri se candidatum consulatus posset, mortem obiit repentinam* (div. Aug. 4).

Among the competitors not mentioned here by Cicero (though he has much to say about him later) was L. Calpurnius Piso. He seems to have been a safe, sober, and respected man of a prominent consular family who had never been repulsed in any candidacy for public office (Cic. in Pis. 1.1-3). Cicero regards this, probably quite unfairly, as a tribute to the Calpurnian family and not to Piso himself: *Obrepsisti ad honores errore hominum commendatione fumosarum imaginum*. In this year he probably realized that if he could get the backing of the dynasts, he would be assured of election. The fact that he was not a violent partisan was in his favor. He had the respect of the Senate (Cic. *pro Sest.* 8.20), and was evidently willing to make concessions to secure the support of the dynasts. In the electioneering he does not seem to have had any serious opposition. In order to secure the help of the dynasts he had to bind himself to them in closer ties by bestowing his daughter Calpurnia in marriage on Caesar. Such dynastic marriages were a regular feature of the complicated political alliances of the republic.

The dynasts now had their two candidates for the consulate; the *optimates* put forward L. Lentulus, the *flamen Martialis*, a man about whom little is known. Since the election of consuls and praetors took place in the centuriate assembly where the urban mob had less voting strength than the propertied men from the Italian towns and their clients, the opponents of the dynasts needed a sound and conservative rather than a colorful candidate.

We know little about the activities of the candidates except that Gabinus probably gave gladiatorial games to

win favor. The first serious move was made by the *optimates*; Bibulus issued a decree postponing the election from July to October the eighteenth. This disconcerted the dynasts. Cicero gives a vivid picture of Pompey addressing the people without effect:

I could not hold back my tears when I saw him addressing the people on Bibulus' edicts on the twenty-fifth of July. This man who in former days used to behave so proudly in that place, enjoying the deepest affection and universal applause of the people, how abject he was on that occasion, how downcast, how little approved not only by his audience but by himself as well. (*ad. Att. 2.21.3*)

Caesar's *urbana gratia* was without effect in this situation; he attempted to sway the mob to march in protest to the house of Bibulus and hold a demonstration, but all his seditious oratory could not elicit a shout of approval. This was an explosive situation; the dynasts evidently felt that they could carry the election at this time; their opponents, probably encouraged by the demonstrations against the dynasts in the theatre and the hearty applause which greeted the younger Curio, an active opponent of the dynasts, felt that delay was on their side. Time was needed for the Archilocheian edicts of Bibulus and pamphlets of the propagandizers to increase the discontent with the ruling faction. If we can trust Cicero to judge the popular temper fairly, there were strong indications that the *populares* were exceedingly unpopular and that Bibulus was lauded to the skies.¹ Intemperate words were being bandied about on both sides and the political temperature was at fever heat. *Vis nobis est timenda* writes Cicero (*ad Att. 2.21.5*).

The violence and turbulence which marked the political activities of some of the more hot-headed partisans of both sides makes it likely that assassination as a remedy was freely discussed. Against a background of rumored plots the Vettian affair is much more understandable.² Before discuss-

ing this mysterious event let us take a look at Cicero's account of it:

Vettius, that notorious informer of ours, promised Caesar, as I see it, that he would see to it that young Curio be involved in some suspicion of criminal activity. So he wormed his way into intimacy with the young man and, after having become a frequent associate of his, went so far, as the affair shows, as to reveal that he was determined to attack Pompeius with his slaves and to assassinate him. This Curio reported to his father who then told Pompeius. The matter was reported to the Senate. When Vettius was brought in he denied at first that he had ever conferred with Curio, but he did not persist in this denial for long; suddenly he demanded the protection afforded those who give evidence for the State. This was shouted down. Then he revealed that there had been a band of young men under the leadership of Curio, to which Paullus belonged in the beginning, and Q. Caepio, Brutus I mean, and Lentulus the son of the *flamen* with his father being privy to it; and that afterwards C. Septimius, the secretary of Bibulus, had brought him a dagger from Bibulus. The whole affair, the idea that Vettius could not get a dagger unless the consul found him one, was ridiculed; and it was scoffed at all the more because on the thirteenth of May Bibulus had warned Pompeius to guard against plots; and Pompeius had thanked him for it.

When young Curio was brought in he replied to the charges of Vettius, and Vettius was especially censured for saying that it was the plan for the young men to attack Pompeius in the forum at the gladiatorial show given by Gabinius, and that the leader was Paullus, who actually was in Macedonia at the time. The decision of the Senate was to jail Vettius on his own confession that he had carried a weapon, and that any person attempting to release him would be guilty of treason. The general impression was that the plan was for Vettius with his slaves to be apprehended in the forum in possession of a dagger, then he was to profess willingness to turn State's evidence. And it would have met with success, if the Curios had not reported the matter to Pompeius beforehand. Then the decision of the Senate was read aloud before the people.

On the next day, however, Caesar . . . brought Vettius out on the Rostra . . . Here he said whatever he liked about public affairs, and having come there thoroughly rehearsed, he did not even mention Caepio,

whom he had named most ardently in the Senate, so it was evident that a night and a nocturnal plea had intervened.³ Then he named men whom he had not referred to with even the slightest suspicion in the Senate . . . He did not name me, but he did say that an eloquent ex-consul, a neighbor of the consul, said that there was need for a Servilius Ahala or a Brutus. At the end he added, when he was called back by Vatinius after the dismissal of the assembly, that he had heard from Curio that my son-in-law Piso and M. Laterensis were privy to the plot. (*ad Att.* 2.24.2-4).

After these revelations Vettius was packed off to prison again where he died under suspicious circumstances.

The most satisfactory explanation of this intriguing little melodrama is that Vettius was acting as the agent of Vatinius or Caesar and that they hoped to accomplish a number of diverse purposes by it. Had the plot not been turned into farce, it would certainly have frightened Pompeius away from any hope of reconciliation with the *optimates* in general and with Cicero in particular. It would also have greatly diminished or nullified the effects of Curio's opposition to the dynasts. This was important because Curio was the leader of the young nobles and his influence on the elections could be decisive in a close contest. Finally, a large number of the opposition, including the son of the candidate for the consulate, Lentulus, and a candidate for the praetorship would be brought under suspicion, perhaps brought to trial. The whole affair was handled in a maladroit fashion and failed of most of its purposes. Curio, by refusing to be inveigled into a fictitious plot by an *agent provocateur* and by reporting the solicitation immediately, forced the drama on the stage before the chief actor knew his lines. This affair the opposition was able to turn against the dynasts.

In the meantime Piso who had made certain of the support of the dynasts sought to secure the support of the *optimates* also. He had the qualities which had won success in the past;

money, a consular family of long standing, and a lack of conspicuous merit or demerit. It is possible that he was regarded as a champion of the conservatives, despite his family alliance with Caesar, for Cicero says that the common opinion of him at the time of the election was favorable. *Est tamen rei publicae magnum firumque subsidium; . . . habebit senatus in hunc annum quem sequatur; non deerit auctor et dux bonis* (*pro Sest.* 8.20). Cicero, at any rate, seems to have been one of his supporters, for on the day of the election he invited Cicero to be the overseer of the lot to determine the century which was to vote first: *Comitiis tuis praerogativae primum custodem praefecerat* (*post red. in Sen.* 7.17). When Cicero's century was drawn first he invited him to cast the first ballot: *cui primum comitiis tuis dederat tabulas praerogativae* (*in Pis.* 5.11). I do not, however, wish to imply that the *optimates* preferred Piso to Lentulus.

The outcome of the consular elections was as expected. A. Gabinius and L. Calpurnius Piso were the successful candidates. The dynasts were represented in the consulate by a bold and daring lieutenant of Pompeius and a man who certainly was not, as Dio describes him, one of Caesar's boldest partisans. Had Caesar been able to select his candidate for the consulate without regard for the conservative sentiment of the centuriate assembly, he would probably have chosen a stronger character or at least a more vigorous partisan. As it was he did well to consider the feelings of the electorate, for two of his bitterest enemies, Domitius Ahenobarbus and Memmius, were elected to the praetorship.

Even after the elections an attempt was made to bring Gabinius to trial for bribery. C. Porcius Cato, *adulescens nullius consili sed tamen civis Romanus et Cato*, could not get the praetors to take him seriously and fix a day for a hearing. He thereupon addressed an assembly of the people in

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Claudian, the Last of the Classical Roman Poets

CLAUDIUS CLAUDIANUS the last of classical poets of ancient Rome was not a native-born Roman, or even an Italian. He was an Egyptian by birth, being born in Alexandria about 370 A.D. The date of his death is reputed to have been shortly after the sack of Rome by the Goths under Alaric in 410. Thus he lived in a very disturbed period of Roman history, when her prestige as a world power had finally passed its zenith. Claudian's early life was apparently spent in the country of his birth and his native tongue is reputed to have been Greek, in which language he first began to write.

The disturbing people who came upon the arena of Roman history about this period were the Goths. The Gothic tribes came down from the North and made inroads in the Western Empire, causing the Romans a world of trouble. Nor were their incursions confined to the Western half of the Roman Empire. Another branch of the Goths invaded the Eastern Empire. The Roman emperors during that period were Valentinian and Valens of the Western and Eastern Empires, respectively. These Gothic tribes defeated the Romans in a decisive battle at Adrianople, in which battle Valens lost his life, in the year 378.

Upon the death of Valentinian I in 375, his

son Valentinian II became emperor. He was fortunate in having as his military leader against the Goths from the North Theodosius, who showed himself a competent general against his enemies. He soon drove back the Vandals and Goths, thus relieving the pressure, especially on the Eastern Empire. In 381 the Gothic chieftain sued for peace at the Eastern capital, Constantinople. The following year the Visigoths became allies of Rome and peace was restored in the Eastern Empire. The Western Empire was not enjoying the blessings of peace in the meantime. For the Roman Emperor Gratian was murdered in 383 by the British pretender Maximus, who became joint ruler of the West with Valentinian II. The latter fled to Thessalonica, throwing himself upon the mercy of Theodosius, who made war upon Maximus and defeated him at Aquileia and put him to death in 383. Thus Theodosius by his competence and strategy as a military leader saved the situation for the Romans till the days of Alaric, when the Visigoths overran Italy, sacking Rome in 410.

Theodosius died in 395, leaving Arcadius and Honorius his two sons as emperors of the East and West, respectively. Theodosius appointed Stilicho, an able and efficient general, to take command of the Roman

intemperate language, called Pompeius a *privatum dictatorem*, and barely escaped with his life (Cic. *ad Q. fr.* 1.2.15). The dynasts were, moreover, given a warning that they had better attempt to keep friendly officials in office, for an attempt was actually made by the praetors C. Memmius and L. Domitius Ahenobarbus to impugn the *acta Caesaris*, and the tribune L. Antistius wanted to impeach him. Suetonius tells us that Caesar heeded the warning and took some pains to put the annual magistrates and the candidates under obligation to him. The efforts were successful till 54 B.C. By that time the dynasts had control of the most powerful provinces and their armies. In such circum-

stances the consulate was not a source of great power.

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NOTES

¹ Bibulus, by watching the heavens, laid the legal groundwork for invalidating any law passed during the year. Caesar protected his agrarian legislation by requiring all the candidates for office to imprecate a curse on themselves if they should suggest any change in the division of land (*ad Att.* 2.18.2). It is possible that Caesar hoped to dissuade opposition candidates by exacting this oath.

² Lily Ross Taylor, "The Date and Meaning of the Vettius Affair," *Historia* 1 (1950) 45-51; William C. McDermott, "Vettius ille, ille noster index," *TAPA* 80 (1949) 351-67; Walter Allen, Jr., "The 'Vettius Affair' Once More," *TAPA* 81 (1950) 153-63. For a discussion of Professor Taylor's date of the incident see the article by P. A. Brunt, "Cicero: *Ad Atticum* 2.24," *CQ* 47 NS 3 (1953) 62-4.

³ The allusion here is to a visit by Caesar to Servilia, the mother of Brutus. The liaison was common knowledge and it was not without effect on the political alliances of the day.

legions to oppose the Visigothic chieftain Alaric; who, having broken with the Romans, in the meantime had invaded the east, including Macedonia and Thessaly. Stilicho later defeated Alaric near Elis and put an end to the Visigothic war.

Theodosius appointed Stilicho as a military guardian of his two sons Arcadius and Honorius. Meanwhile, Stilicho married Serena the niece and adopted daughter of Theodosius, and Honorius married Marie the daughter of Stilicho and Serena, in 398, thus becoming father-in-law and son-in-law of a Roman emperor. Incidentally Claudian emphasizes this fact in his historical epics on Stilicho and Honorius. Oddly enough however, Stilicho later was murdered by the ungrateful Emperor Honorius on an alleged charge of treason.

This cursory sketch of Roman history is almost necessary as a background of the period of Claudian, in order to understand his historic epics. For Claudian drew largely on contemporary Roman history for the inspiration of his historical epics.

NOW LET US CONSIDER the life and achievements of Claudian the epic and epigrammatic poet. In the year of the death of Theodosius, Claudian moved from Alexandria to Rome and subsequently to Milan, where he established himself at the court as poet laureate, in our modern parlance. As previously indicated, he spoke and wrote in Greek, being in a Greek province, Egypt. But on his establishing his residence in Milan he abandoned Greek and now he speedily developed a mastery of the Latin tongue, using it with astonishing skill and facility as the medium of expression for his poetry. During the following decade 395 to 405 he busied himself with the historical epic till the downfall of his famous patron Stilicho, who during the regency of Honorius was virtually emperor of the Western Empire.

Claudian produced in rapid succession a series of historical epics. Foremost among these may be mentioned "On the Consulate of Stilicho," "On the Third, Fourth and Sixth Consulates of Honorius," "On the Gildonic War," "On the Pollentine War" and "On the Gothic War." These epics, written in stately

and harmonious verse, compare very favorably with those of Silius Italicus and Statius of the Silver Age of Latin poetry, in workmanship, fertility of imagination and purity of language. They are hardly inferior to Statius' *Thebaid* or Lucan's *Pharsalia*, though of course they do not rank with the *Aeneid*.

In addition to his historical epics above mentioned, Claudian wrote a literary epic on a mythological theme, the "Rape of Proserpine." This unfinished epic is in three books and is rated among the finest examples of the purely literary epic. It follows the legendary story of Proserpine and her companions gathering in the flowery spring meadows garlands of blossoms, and then the rape of Proserpine carried off into the lower world and Ceres' long search for her. Parts of this epic are greatly admired and frequently quoted. However, the style is excessively ornate and over elaborated as if the poet were carried away by his zeal and untiring interest in his subject. It is a defect of the poet's style that his over-elaboration palls sometimes on the reader's taste and becomes wearisome. This, as Platnauer among others in the introduction to his edition of Claudian's poems observes, is the poet's besetting sin.

The "Rape of Proserpine" is localized in Sicily and deals, in general, with the mystery of nature, the miracle of the seed corn which dies in the winter to be revived in the eternal spring. It symbolizes in the Hellenic world death and the resurrection. The theme is treated in the Homeric hymn to Demeter and in Callimachus' hymn to Demeter. None of the Greek dramatists appears to have used the theme. Milton has a reference to it in these quotable lines

That fair field
Of Erma, where Proserpine gathered
flowers,
Herself a fairer flower, by gloomy Dis
Was gathered, which cost Ceres all that
pain
To seek her through the world.

Shakespeare, too, alludes to the myth, making Perdita in her famous verses on the flowers of spring exclaim:

O Proserpina
For the flowers now that frightened the
latest fall
From Dis's waggon; daffodils
That come before the swallow dares and
take
The winds of March with beauty.

But enough of the "Rape of Proserpine." Claudian's historical epics deal with the contemporary history and do not possess the same wide appeal as his literary epic discussed above. Some-what of the nature of historical epics may be mentioned Claudian's invective poems on Rufinus and Eutropius, each in two books. These two characters were rivals of Claudian's patron Stilicho; and therefore the poet attacked them vigorously, holding them up to scathing abuse. Each of them met with a violent death; but it is questionable whether their characters were as dark as portrayed in these ferocious invectives.

So much for Claudian's epics. It is in order now to consider his shorter poems collected under the general term of epigrams. Among these are short poems on a variety of topics, such as a panegyric on Stilicho's wife Serena, an epithalamium on the marriage of Stilicho's daughter Maria and Honorius, the Gigantomachia which is a mere fragment, the Phoenix, on the mythological bird which, as it approaches its century of life, builds its own funeral pyre; and out of the ashes there springs into being another phoenix to continue the succession. Also included in the epigrams is an engaging little poem on an old man of Verona who lived a simple life, never moving from his suburban farm to visit even the near-by city, but cultivating his small patch of land on which the acorns planted by his own hand grew into sturdy oaks amid the ever-returning spring flowers. It may not prove uninteresting to quote the beginning and end of this jewel of a poem.

Felix, qui propriis aevum transegit in
arvis

Ipsa domus puerum quem videt ipsa
senem.

Qui baculo nitens in qua reptavit harena
Unius numerat saecula longa casae.

Sed tamen indomitae vires firmisque
lacertis

Aetas robustum tertia cernit avum.
Erret et extremos alter scrutetur Hi-
bernos.

Plus habet hic vitae, plus habet ille
viae.

Since the whole poem is short, it may prove a convenience to the reader to append the Loeb translation herewith:

Happy he who has passed his whole life mid his own fields, he of whose birth and old age the same house is witness; he whose stick supports his tottering steps over the very ground whereon he crawled as a baby and whose memory knows but of one cottage as the scene where so long a life was played out. No turns of fortune vexed him with their sudden storms; he never travelled nor drank the waters of unknown rivers. He was never a trader to fear the seas nor a soldier to dread the trumpet's call; never did he face the noisy wrangles of the courts. Unpracticed in affairs, unfamiliar with the neighboring town, he finds his delight in a freer view of the sky above him. For him the recurring seasons, not the consuls, mark the year; he knows autumn by his fruits and spring by her flowers. From the selfsame fields he watches the sun rise and set, and, at his work, measures the day with his own round of toils. He remembers yon mighty oak an acorn, and sees the plantation, set when he was born, grown old along with him. Neighboring Verona, for him more distant than sun-scorched India; Benacus he accounts as the Red Sea. But his strength is unimpaired and the third generation sees in him a sturdy, stout-armed grandsire. Let who will be a wanderer and explore farthest Spain; such may have more of a journey; he of Verona more of life.

In the year 402 Stilicho defeated Alaric at Pollentia and this victory furnished Claudian an occasion for his brief epic on the Gothic War, honoring his patron; and he is believed to have recited it in a public assembly in the Library of Apollo in Rome. During that same year the Emperor, with the approval of the Senate, voted him a bronze statue which was set up with ap-

propriate dedication exercises in Trajan's Forum. Two years later Claudian married a wealthy protégée of Serena, after which event history makes no subsequent mention of him. Among his last poems are two addressed to Serena, *Laus Serenae* and *Epistola ad Serenam*, in which he pays a graceful tribute to her. Though in his latter days he wrote two poems bearing on Christianity *de Salvatore* and in *Jacobum*, Claudian is not believed to have been a convert to the new religion. Orosius refers to him as *paganus perniciatissimus* and St. Augustine as a *Christo alienus*. Like his hero Stilicho, poet, Claudian paid the new and orthodox faith at least lip service.

Claudian probably lost his life at the time of the downfall of Stilicho and Serena. Stilicho was alleged to have become a friend of Alaric the enemy of Rome, though the allegation of treason does not rest on established facts; and on this charge of treason Honorius the Emperor had him executed at Ravenna in the year 408. It is not improbable that Claudian perished about the same time, possibly a year or so later.

It is in order to assess Claudian's claims as a poet. How do scholars of the classics rate him? First and foremost he is conceded to have possessed a true poetic insight into the grandeur of Rome, as Hodgkin affirms (Cf. Hodgkin, "The Last of the Roman Poets," 52). "Rome is the real muse," he avers, "from whom he derives his highest inspiration. When he is speaking of her glories, when he is describing the great deeds of her heroes who built up the fabric of her empire, he is never tame, never cold, never artificial. Here, if nowhere else, he speaks from the heart, and his language rises with the sublimity of his theme." Claudian possessed a marvelous power over words. Witness one or two his happy coinages, such as *urbs aequaeva polo*, and *populos levitate feroces*, phrases quite difficult adequately to express in English. Nowhere is his inspiration more sustained than when he is dealing with his famous

characters of Roman history. Nowhere is he more vigorous in his utterance than when he is launching an invective against the opponents of Stilicho, Eutropius and Rufinus. Claudian was a master of invective and he exhibits his venomous ferocity in his unsparing attack upon these two.

There is one that occasionally Claudian does exercise no restraint to his feelings and is swept away by his feelings. Then he becomes a little wearisome and seems to lack poise. But this is not often. He warms up to the highest in Roman history and achievement. This is all the more surprising and to his credit, when we reflect that he was a native-born Egyptian and Rome to him was but a step-mother. Still he learned to speak and write the language of his adopted country with a skill, vigor and fluency little short of marvelous and his epics challenge comparison with the best epics of the Silver Age. Nor is his versification or his workmanship at all inferior to theirs. His Latin is quite as pure as the Latin of Silius Italicus or that of Statius, and he used the heroic hexameter with singular dexterity and grace. He justly deserves to be read far more widely than he is in colleges.

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NOTE

Especially helpful books consulted are: Thomas Hodgkins, "Claudian, the Last of the Roman Poets," Longmans, Green & Co. (London, 1875); R. M. Pope, "Rape of Proserpine," in verse (London, 1934); Claudian, Translated by Maurice Platnauer. Two Vols. Loeb Classical Library (London, 1922); The Oxford Classical Dictionary, etc.

After-Thought

In the oft-discussed question of when Classical Latin stops, even Horace faced a similar situation. As we see from the first part of *Epist.* 2.1, there was a temporary classicism already established in some minds; Cicero quotes the early poets with far more approval than Horace could. It is interesting, even amusing, now that he felt it necessary to defend Vergil, for instance, as a recent, a late poet (*Epist.* 2.1.247; 2.3.55). [Ed.]

NOTES

Contributions to this department in the form of brief objective notes should be sent direct to the editor, Oscar E. Nybakken, State University of Iowa, 124 Schaeffer Hall, Iowa City, Iowa.

The Cleopatra Ode

THE PROBLEMS involved in the interpretation of the thirty-seventh ode of the first book of Horace emerge clearly when we juxtapose the statements of various critics. "To Horace, superheated with Roman patriotism throughout this unpleasantly vindictive ode, fear was the natural (*veros*) condition of Cleopatra in relation to the might of Augustus Caesar;"¹ contrasts strongly with the judgment of Mr. Wilkinson: "Such sympathy was probably no more common in his day than the generosity that prompted his generous tribute to Cleopatra after her death."² We can hardly believe that these critics are discussing the same ode, and, as a matter of fact, they are not. Professor Alexander is discussing the first half of the ode, Mr. Wilkinson the second. It would seem then that Horace had really written two poems on Cleopatra and joined them together imperfectly.³

The explicit statement of the problem is given by Professor Goldhurst: "Close inspection presents two Cleopatras in this Ode. We see one through the screen of political bitterness, the other through a screen more morally realistic."⁴ He not only states the problem but also attempts to solve it by regarding the lines

accipiter velut
mollis columbas aut leporem citus
venator in campis nivalis
Haemoniae, daret ut catenis
fatale monstrum (17-21)

as affording an emotional transition to the gentler Cleopatra, to the *non humilis mulier*. "The dove imagery allows 'mulier' to be more than an emphatic denouement; instead it becomes a real assertion with its roots within the poem."⁵ This solution fails to satisfy

because it leans too heavily on the neutral word *mulier*⁶ and misinterprets the simile. The passage emphasized the fear of Cleopatra; the dove and hare pursued are usually figures of unreasoning terror, and this interpretation is strengthened by the lines which introduce the figure:

redegit in veros timores
Caesar ab Italia volentem
remis adurgens.

Moreover, the epithet *mollis* bears a very ambiguous sense; it means *lascivious* or *effeminate* as well as *gentle*.⁷

Perhaps the best way of attacking the difficulties in this poem is by a brief analysis. The dramatic date of the ode is the year 30 B.C. The announcement of the suicide of Cleopatra makes it clear that the *Bellum Alexandrinum* has ended with full and complete victory for Octavian. Now the Romans can celebrate, for the source of their recent fears has been removed. Horace begins the ode with a free translation of some verses of Alcaeus written to celebrate the assassination of the tyrant Myrsilus. In this way Horace in an indirect fashion relates his ode to the tradition of great lyric poetry and, when the audience recalls that Alcaeus' verses celebrated the end of a civil uprising, indicates obliquely that Actium and the Alexandrian War had some of the elements of a civil war. Although Antonius is not mentioned in this ode the reference to Alcaeus intrudes the notion of civil war into our consciousness. This is in agreement with the ninth epode:

ut nuper, actus cum freto Neptunis
dux fugit ustis navibus
minatus urbi vincla, quae detraxerat
servis amicus perfidis (7-10)

where the reference to Sextus Pompeius shows that Horace regards the victory at Actium as not dissimilar from the victory over Sextus. The emotions to be evoked are those appropriate to the end of a foreign and civil war, *bellum civile externumque*. As so often in Horace the first stanza gives the key to the rest of the poem.

The triple repetition of *nunc* and the intensity of the invitation to rejoice relates this first stanza to the whole ode. Now! not before when the queen with her dissolute crew was threatening the city, but because the unqueened Cleopatra, no unworthy opponent, is dead. By the very violence of the invitation to engage in private and public rejoicing we are prepared for some justification for such exultation. We do not, as a general rule, exult over a completely worthy and chivalrous foe nor over one who flees in terror at the first sign of battle. So Cleopatra is portrayed first as an infatuate woman with a degenerate following threatening the very *Capitolium*, Horace's symbol of Rome's enduring might.⁸ The word *regina* (7) is used to describe her not because it roused in the Romans the same emotions as its masculine counterpart, but to indicate the sort of oriental government which she symbolized, and to give added force to the epithet *privata* (1. 31).⁹ When Cleopatra was unqueened she acted with true regal dignity. Next follows a brief allusion to the flight of Cleopatra at Actium. Up to that point she had been unable to restrain her mad hopes (*quidlibet impotens/sperare*) and was drunk figuratively and literally (*fortunaque dulci/ebria . . . mentemque lymphatam Mareotico*.) But the sight of Octavian reduces her to sheer terror, to the stark terror of a dove before the hawk or the hare fleeing the hunter. Yet she is a *fatale monstrum* (1. 21), for thus she had been described in the propaganda war preceding Actium, and Octavian's purpose was to lead her back in chains.

This affords the transition to the nobler Cleopatra. Octavian wished to lead

her in his triumph as a prisoner (*daret ut catenis*, 20), but she wished to die in a fashion more "fitting for a princess descended from so many royal kings." The justification for this passage is the same as the justification for the preceding — the intensity of the call for celebration in the first stanza of the ode. Actium had not lived up to advance notice; Cleopatra had not been the formidable danger she had been made to appear.¹⁰ Her flight was interpreted by later writers as either cowardly or treacherous. Now shown to possess those qualities which a truly worthy opponent for Roman arms must possess, Cleopatra redeemed not only herself but also Octavian by her suicide.¹¹ Her glorification in the latter half of the ode reflects an indirect glory on her conqueror. Had Horace continued to rail at her till the end of the ode he would have detracted from the victory of Augustus. Her *deliberata mors* is what makes her *ferocior* (1. 29).

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NOTES

¹ William Hardy Alexander, "Horace's Odes and Carmen Saeculare: Observations and Interpretations," *Univ. of Cal. Pub. in Class. Phil.* 12 (1944-50) 194. It is only fair to note that Professor Alexander adds: "However, the queen as described by Horace himself from 21 to 32 forms a quite adequate contrast to Augustus making for his underground shelter whenever a thunderstorm came up."

² L. P. Wilkinson, *Horace and His Lyric Poetry* (Cambridge, 1945) 45.

³ Archibald Y. Campbell in his book *Horace, A New Interpretation* (Methuen and Co., London, 1924) has some excellent observations on this problem; see especially 6-12 and 192-4.

⁴ Richard Goldhurst, "Aesthetic Economy in Two Poems," *CJ* 49 (1953) 65.

⁵ *Ibid.* 66.

⁶ Professors Nybakken and Murley in a note appended to Professor Goldhurst's article call attention to this fact. It might be noted also that Horace does not really change his imagery nor does the simile afford any transition to the gentler Cleopatra, since she is referred to as *fatale monstrum* in the concluding lines.

⁷ This meaning of *molles* is frequent in the elegists and the *Arabasae molles* of Catullus is well known.

⁸ Horace Odes 3. 3. 42; 3. 30. 8; Vergil, *Aen.* 9. 448.

⁹ There is an excellent note on *privata* in H. Darnley Naylor, *Horace, Odes and Epodes: A Study in Poetic Word-Order* (Cambridge, 1922).

¹⁰ W. W. Tarn, "The Battle of Actium," *JRS* 21 (1931) 173-199; G. W. Richardson, "Actium,"

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An Athlete's Reward

THE LOVE OF ATHLETIC CONTESTS among the Greeks is well known. The contestants entered the games as official representatives of their home cities, and victory brought honor not only to the winner, but to his city as well. Modern intercollegiate contests offer a close parallel. In some of these ancient *certamina* the victor was entitled to a sort of triumphal entry into his home city upon his return from the contest. Such contests were known as *certamina iselastica*, from the Greek word that meant 'to come into'. In our schools and colleges victorious athletes are often met when they return from a contest by students and citizens in receptions that rival the ancient entry of victors returning to their home towns. In some cities at least, victory in certain of these *certamina iselastica* entitled the victor to receive a pension (*obsonia*) in grain or cash from the treasury of the city for the rest of his life. The athlete, not the coach, got the plum from the pudding.

Under the Roman Empire, when the finances of the *civitates* were rather closely supervised by the central government, such payments by the treasurers of the cities had to have the approval of the governor of the province. Pliny, *Ep.* 10.118, tells us that he had this item of city expense labelled *iselastici nomine* in the treasurer's accounts.

To protect the finances of the cities in the eastern provinces, Trajan promulgated a list of the *certamina* which from that time on were to be regarded as *iselastica*. Some of the games that had been recognized as *iselastica* were

dropped from the new official list, and some that had not before been classed as *iselastica* were included in it. When victors in these newly recognized *iselastica* began to draw pensions, former victors in these contests at a time before they were so recognized began to ask that they receive pensions too. Pliny, in *Ep.* 10.118, asked the Emperor to clarify the law on this point.

Dean Stout's primary interest is in the palaeographical point to follow. With his good-will I remind the reader that, for all the athleticism of the Greeks, there was criticism even in antiquity of the subsidizing of athletics. Everyone will think of Socrates' claim (*Apol.* 36DE) that he performed a greater service than the athlete; that he should have free meals rather than the latter, who is rich and does not need them. He is thinking of chariot-racing especially; and horses were a luxury item then. Before that a Comic fragment (118 Koch) comments on the lack of reward for the outstanding citizen as against the prize for the victorious runner. Xenophanes (Hudson-Williams 2) refers to choice seats at the theatre, free food, and a gift to be a keep-sake as the lot of athletes, "if with horses they win all these things, not being as worthy as I; for better than physical strength of men and horses is my wisdom." One could find more in Gardner's "Ancient Athletics" or A. L. Bondurant's monograph. [Ed.]

A SCRIBE'S ERROR in our manuscript source has made the Emperor's reply (*Ep.* 10.119) unintelligible, and led to numerous efforts to emend the text in such a way as to give it meaning. The only two manuscripts for the text at this point agreed in the following reading: "*Obsonia eorum certaminum quae iselastica esse placuit mihi, si ante iselastica non fuerunt, retro non debentur. Nec proficere pro desiderio athletarum potest, quod eorum quae postea iselastica non lege constitui quam qui ierant accipere desierunt.*"

Qui ierant can have no meaning suitable in the context. To me the emen-

JRS 27 (1937) 153-164; and Tarn's reply, "Actium: A Note," JRS 28 (1938) 165-168. References to Kromayer and Ferrabino will be found in the footnotes to these articles.

¹¹ Even Otho atones for the vices of his life by his courageous suicide: Tacitus *Hist.* 2. 50, *Martial* 6. 32. 5-6. For some indications that the suicide of Cleopatra relieved Augustus from an embarrassment see Edmund Groag, "Das Ende der Kleopatra," *Klio* 14 (1914-15) 57-68.

dation proposed by Keil (1870), *vicerant* for *qui ierant*, which was accepted by Mueller (1903) and Kukula (1908) and was emended to *vicerunt* by Hardy (1889), seems probably to give Pliny's original word. The development of the error may well have been as follows: In copying *vicerant* a copyist who was separating the *scriptura continua* of his parent manuscript into individual words first caught and wrote *ui*, a frequently used word (*vi*); the *c* of the remaining *cerant* he read as *i*, which gave him the perfectly good word *ierant*. The reading of *c* as *i* is not uncommon in copying from some minuscule scripts, and the reading of *ci* as *u*, a very similar error, can almost be said to be frequent. This gave the copyist *ui ierant*. He was not reading as he copied. Scribes rarely did: they were copying words. A later scribe, having come upon *ui ierant*, wrote *qui ierant* to get an apparent construction. A scribe, in correcting what he thought to be an error of the previous scribe, did not usually consider the wider context, but was satisfied if the words in the immediate context seemed construable.

Some time between 1502 and 1508, the French scholar Budé proposed to emend *quam qui ierant* to *quam quierant*. The most recent editors, Merrill (1922), Sicard (1931), Schuster (1933, 1952), Durry (1947), have adopted this reading. Palaeographically it presents no difficulty; it is even deceptively inviting. It is interpreted to mean: "After they (the athletes) had retired from participation in the contests". The context requires however a reference to the time when athletes had won victories in contests which at that time entitled them to pensions but which under the new law no longer did so. Although their pensions for these victories were understood at that time to be for life, the Emperor is now ruling, not quite logically, that when those contests were removed from the list of *iselastica*, pension for victories in them should no longer be paid.

The final quod-clause, expanded to show constructions, might read as follows: "quod *athletae obsonia eorum certaminum* quae postea *iselastica* non lege constitui quam hi *vicerant* accipere desierunt", and the whole passage be translated as follows: "Pensions from those contests which I have been pleased to class as *iselastica* are not to be retroactive in case the contests were not *iselastica* before; and the claim of athletes (for such retroactive pensions) gains no support from the fact that (other) athletes have ceased to receive pensions for winning in contests which, after they had won their victories, I have not made *iselastica* under the (new) law".

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A MODERN TIRO

If you want to make sure no one else will be able to read your shorthand, one of the oldest systems on record is at your service. It was said to have been introduced into Rome by Cicero from a Greek source (See *Ad. Att.* 13.32, and Plutarch's *Cato Minor*, 23), but from its extensive use and perhaps development by Cicero's private secretary, Tiro, the system goes under the name *Notae Tironianae*.

At least one modern user of the Tironian Method has been discovered. An AP news item (thanks to Oliver C. Phillips, Jr., of the University of Missouri), carried in the *Kansas City Times* (Feb. 27, 54), identifies the expert as Duard Sexton, tool designer for the Solar Aircraft Company in Des Moines, Iowa.

"Sexton became interested in Tiro's shorthand through a study of Latin, which he has continued since he was in high school here [Des Moines] more than thirty years ago. He learned the system from a textbook published in Leipzig, Germany, in the 1890s, which he borrowed from the University of Iowa Library." (Possibly Reifferscheid's *Suetonii Reliquiae*, Leipzig, 1890?)

A Ciceronian salute to Mr. Sexton for his Latin tachygraphy!

JFL

(My friend Sexton has asked for an article on the *Notae Tironianae* from some competent scholar. [Ed.]

Slavery in the Writings of St. Augustine

THE PURPOSE of this study is to present from the works of St. Augustine excerpts referring to a question of prime importance to the social historian, that is, slavery. Such references are, to be sure, casual ones scattered throughout the writings, for St. Augustine was not writing social history but, since he reflected in his works the customs and usages of his times, he has left us material from which we can reconstruct this phase of life in the Roman Empire of his day. As a matter of fact this very casual character gives St. Augustine's statements added weight for we have in this instance not the haranguing of a social reformer, whose interest might lead to an exaggeration of the facts, not the deliberate analysis of slavery by an historian, who might be prejudiced in his presentation, but one who is writing on other topics and just incidentally mentions slavery, by way of illustration or analogy. St. Augustine has left us no work on slavery, not even a single letter or sermon, but frequently did he advert to it, and consequently, by assembling these allusions, we may synthesize his doctrine on the subject.¹

St. Augustine reflects the society of his day in considering slaves as a form of wealth.² He points out, for instance, that man loves what he thinks makes him happy, and such things he includes under the general heading *pecunia*, for instance, a slave, a tree, a vase, a field, or a herd. Whenever there is itemizing of wealth, slaves invariably constitute an element. Now they are classified with *frumentum*, *oleum*, and *vinum*,³ again with *iumenta*, and *rhedae*,⁴ or *aurum* and *argentum*.⁵

Rich houses are described,⁶ with their many gold and silver vases, their marble walls and gilded ceilings,⁷ their many slaves and animals. As these things are catalogued, there seems to be no distinction drawn among things, animals, and slaves; it would seem

that these latter were considered merely as commodities to gratify the vanity and desires of their owners. That such was the status of slaves in antiquity, there is no dearth of proof.⁸ However, Augustine, in one instance draws a very precise distinction between slaves and other forms of wealth.⁹ In commenting on *Et qui voluerit tecum in iudicio contendere, et tunicam tuam tollere, remitte illi et vestimentum*,¹⁰ he states that this command is to be carried out in regard to everything we speak of as being ours. This is to be understood of all things for which we may be sued at law, so that the right of them may pass from us to him who sues. In this class, Saint Augustine includes clothing, a house, an estate, a beast of burden, and, in general, all kinds of property. Then, however, he qualifies the statement, and admonishes the Christian that he should not possess a slave in the same way as a horse or money. True, the horse may have a greater monetary value than the slave, in fact, even an object of gold or silver might exceed him in value from this standpoint, but there is another standard of value to which the Christian must have reference. Therefore, if the slave is being ruled and educated at present in a way more upright and more conducive to the honor of God than he can be by the person who wishes to take him away, then Saint Augustine inclines to the belief that the slave should be regarded as a person, and not on a plane with the other pieces of property.

Taking then as our point of departure this important qualification which differentiates slaves from other forms of wealth, let us consider Augustine's further testimony on the subject. Like every good ancient scholar, he gives us the etymology¹¹ of the word, stating that prisoners of war, instead of being killed were preserved by their conquerors, and were called *servi* from

that fact. For by nature and as God first created us, no one is the slave, either of man or of sin. But servitude is penal,¹² and is the sanction of the natural law. If nothing had been done in violation of that law, there would have been nothing to restrain by penal servitude. Since this is so, Saint Paul urges slaves to submit to their masters and serve them heartily and with good will, so that if they cannot be freed by their masters, they may themselves make their slavery in some sort free, by serving, not in fear, but in love, until all unrighteousness pass away, and God be all in all.

This, then, is Saint Augustine's definition of slavery, and the doctrine that although the body is subjected to slavery the spirit can be free.

The question naturally arises, "Does Saint Augustine give any indication as to how numerous slaves were, or what was their provenience?" We have already noted that in describing a rich house he exclaimed: *Quantum familiae*. The attempt to conjecture the population of the Roman Empire, and the proportionate number of slaves is a precarious one, and, lacking an explicit statement on the part of Saint Augustine, I am inclined to imitate the prudence of Friedlander, who after summarizing the statements of scholars as to the slave and free population of the city of Rome in the time of Claudius concludes: "We cannot even conjecture the number of wealthy households (in which large numbers of slaves were kept) or of the *servi publici* so that I make no attempt to estimate the total number of slaves.¹³ It is generally agreed, however, that from the time of Diocletian, the number of slaves decreased considerably, and that the prisoners of war who once formed so prolific a source of slaves were now almost negligible.¹⁴ Indirect evidence of the decrease in number of slaves is offered by the fact that the price of slaves increased considerably. In *Cambridge Medieval History*,¹⁵ we read: "From the third century onwards the

picture changes. The subjection of conquered peoples by Roman citizens ceases, and the greater part of the population of the Empire is admitted to citizenship. On the other hand, the supply of slaves gets more and more hampered by the fact that wars of conquest cease. In the beginning of the third century, we hear already of a price of two hundred *aurei* or five hundred *denarii* of full ancient coinage for a slave, (Dig. IV, 4, 51) — a very high price indeed, which shows indirectly how difficult it was to get slaves. During the protracted defensive wars that had to be fought on all the frontiers, prisoners were frequently made, but these Germans, Slavs, and Huns were difficult to manage and made clumsy laborers when settled for agricultural purposes: it was more profitable to leave them a certain independence in their plots and therefore to cut up large estates into small holdings." On this point, Saint Augustine in a letter to Hesychius gives us very interesting and valuable testimony. He states that daily barbarians¹⁶ come into Africa as prisoners of war and become slaves, so that in view of this positive evidence from the pen of Saint Augustine it might be well to qualify the above statement.

That slaves are numerous and that slavery is characteristic of the period may be inferred from the frequent references of Augustine to slavery by way of illustration. I have selected only two quotations to substantiate that statement, but examples could be multiplied. When he is warning that no man can excuse himself on the grounds that he knows not Christ, Saint Augustine states that the name of Christ is on everyone's lips, and cites among other groups, masters and slaves.¹⁷ On another occasion, in his teaching on marriage, stating that polyandry was never permitted, he uses a parallel from slavery to clarify his point.¹⁸

Slaves are represented as fulfilling various duties; however, the references are exclusively to immediate domestic

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service to the master or his children, with no mention of those engaged in a trade or working in the mines. First of all we have the *nutrix*¹⁹ to whom the mother relegates the nursing and rearing of the children.²⁰ As in classical times, we see again the familiar figure of the *pedagogus*²¹ leading his charges to the *magistrum*. Sometimes that task presents obstacles, as a chance analogy in one of the Sermons indicates. The pagans²² are compared to unreasonable children playing in the mud and soiling their hands. When the stern pedagogue comes along, he cleans their hands and gives them a book to hold . . . Escaping from the eyes of the pedagogue, the children secretly return to the mud; when they are discovered, they hide their hands. We learn too that sometimes slaves are commanded to chastise the sons of their masters.²³

Apart from the services which slaves render to the children of the household in the capacity of nurse or pedagogue, we find mention of the slave who carries the codices of the master to the courthouse, but who, by force of custom, must remain outside the doors.²⁴ Indirectly, Saint Augustine reveals the tasks of slaves when he speaks to the masters of their dependence on the services of their slaves,—they rely on them to draw water, to cook, and, in general, to care for their needs.²⁵

Only once, so far as I could ascertain, is there reference to a particular slave. The incident occurs in the *Confessions* where we are introduced to the old slave who had cared for Saint Monica, as she had for Monica's father in his youth.²⁶ Augustine does not hesitate to say that the influence of the diligence of the slave in regard to her training was more potent than that of her mother. This slave was honored in the household because of her good character. Among other things she would not permit those entrusted to her care to drink between meals, lest they contract a bad habit, for, while the drink-

ing of water was harmless enough, she had in mind the future day when they would be mistresses of homes and of the wine cellars. Then water would be distasteful, but the habit of drinking would endure. From this we can infer the tremendous power, for good or for evil, that the slaves had in moulding the characters of the children of the household, since, as we have seen, their contact was more intimate than that of the parent and child in many instances.

Slaves who were reliable and faithful gained the love²⁷ and confidence²⁸ of their masters, and were entrusted with their secrets, once the masters found them to be tried and true. Such slaves, I imagine, were the ones a bridegroom would present to his spouse, since we are told that slaves were a customary and acceptable gift.²⁹

We should find many homes, therefore, in which slaves lived in material comfort³⁰ and by their fidelity added to the contentment of their masters. However, such was not always the case. Wealthy men,³¹ possessed of great treasure, live a life of continual anxiety, for fear of its being stolen, and not the least cause of concern is an unfaithful slave. In fact, Saint Augustine goes farther and says that men worry, not only about the loss of the treasure, but that the slave will murder the owner³² and then bear away his wealth. Consequently, they seek storehouses³³ where they may preserve their riches in safety, since they cannot feel safe in their own homes with the constant threat of untrustworthy slaves.

Masters when angry at their slaves berate them, and Saint Augustine gives *Satanus*³⁴ as a sample epithet. Physical punishments include being scourged,³⁵ being cast into chains, being imprisoned, and being employed in the baker's mill. Apuleius³⁶ gives a very graphic picture of slaves in a baker's mill, and the classification of this penalty along with

imprisonment is not so incongruous as it appears at first sight. Through fear of these penalties, slaves,³⁷ even the most wicked of them, do not offend their masters.

However, worn out by the harsh commands of their masters, some seek refuge by fleeing.³⁸ There are several allusions to fugitives among the *Letters* and *Sermons* of Saint Augustine. He compares heretics³⁹ to fugitive slaves, who not only leave their masters, but who even threaten them and despoil them by the most violent attacks. In writing of the terrific ravages of the Circumcellions, he states that under threats of beating, burning and immediate death, they demand the freedom of the worst of slaves, and they break the tablets of ownership, thus destroying the evidence that would interfere with this.⁴⁰ Men who come upon fugitives inquire from them from whom they are fleeing, for it depends upon the relative strength and importance of the masters whether they will have the temerity to retain the slaves as if they were their rightful property.⁴¹ The lash⁴² often drove bad slaves and fugitives back to their masters,⁴³ and Saint Augustine adverts to that fact when he describes souls who are brought back to God by the scourge of temporal misfortunes.

In regard to the duties of masters to their slaves, it is stated that it is the responsibility of the head of the household⁴⁴ to see that no one therein falls into heresy, neither his wife, nor his children, nor even his slave. Some masters present the infant children of their slaves for baptism,⁴⁵ as we learn from Saint Augustine's letter to Bishop Boniface, which refutes the argument that children cannot be baptized unless the parents themselves present them to be baptized. Many, we are told, are presented by strangers, and sometimes slave children by their masters.

We have already seen that the Church admonishes slaves to serve their masters willingly, and thus to make their

servitude in some respect voluntary, and now we find Saint Augustine praising the Church also because it renders masters forbearing to their slaves⁴⁶ from regard to God, their common Master, and makes them more disposed to advise than compel.

In no passage was there a direct reference to the education of slaves. S. L. Mohler has collected interesting information on the education of slaves in antiquity,⁴⁷ both from the point of view of informal instruction through conversations between master and slave, and systematic teaching. He tells us that the large number of youthful slaves in a wealthy household would present a disciplinary problem. To keep these children occupied, and to render them more valuable in their adult life, an educated slave was charged with the duty of teaching them. In one of his letters Augustine does imply that there was some sort of instruction, though not of the systematic type described of the earlier period treated in the above-mentioned article. Augustine also implies that the slaves are of a very high intellectual level. He is referring to the Pelagian heresy on grace, which from its very nature had a special appeal for the more privileged class;⁴⁸ and he expresses his earnest wish that the book out of which he thought it well to extract some words so that they might be more easily understood might not produce any such impression [i.e., heretical belief] on the minds of even the least deserving of the slaves of Juliana and Demetrias.⁴⁹

Summing up the duties of a master, Saint Augustine⁵⁰ writes in *De civitate Dei* that though our righteous fathers had slaves and administered their domestic affairs so as to distinguish between the condition of slaves and the heirship of sons, still in regard to the worship of God, in Whom we hope for eternal blessings, they had an equally loving oversight over all the members of their household. And this is so much in accordance with the natural order that the head of the household was call-

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ed *paterfamilias* and this name has been so generally accepted that even those whose rule is unjust rejoice that they are so named. But those who are true *paterfamilias* desire and endeavor that all the members of their household, equally with their own children, should worship and win God, and should come to that heavenly home in which the duty of ruling men is no longer necessary because the duty of caring for their everlasting happiness has also ceased; but until they reach that home masters ought to feel their position of authority a greater burden than slaves their service. And if any member of the family interrupts the domestic peace by disobedience, he is corrected either by word or blow, or some kind of just and legitimate punishment such as society permits, that he may be himself the better for it and be readjusted to the family harmony from which he had dislocated himself.

We read of the manumission of slaves in all periods of Roman history, in different ways, and for different reasons.⁵¹ From Saint Augustine we have a description of the ceremony by which a slave is granted his freedom.⁵² This method of manumission before the Bishop had been added by Constantine to the solemn ceremonies which, according to Roman law, conferred at the same time liberty and citizenship. By a law of 316, he gave masters the power to free their slaves in the churches, in the presence of the priests and the people.⁵³ In 321, he declared that the slaves thus freed would become citizens, just as if the solemn legal forms had been observed in regard to them.⁵⁴ Saint Augustine mentions the reasons for which the slaves were being freed: fidelity on the part of the slave in one instance⁵⁵ and, in another, the desire of the master to grant freedom to his slaves as a manner of almsgiving, when he himself was entering a monastery.⁵⁶ The question arose as to whether this man was really undertaking the common life as enjoined by Saint Augustine on his followers. Saint Augus-

tine defends him, pointing out that this wealth, that is, these slaves, had been left to him and that he was on the point of granting them freedom.

The Church has always accorded equal rights to her members, free or slave.⁵⁷ Pope St. Callistus had been a fugitive slave,⁵⁸ and yet was the Vicar of Christ on earth. Augustine tells us that many entered monasteries, either having been freed, or about to be freed by their masters.⁵⁹ In the instance just referred to,⁶⁰ it was stated that the slaves were even then living in a monastery. Saint Augustine declares that it would be a serious sin not to admit such persons, and adds the further statement that many of this number became exemplary as religious. It is apparently usual too for mistresses to mingle with former slaves in the cloisters of the period⁶¹ since Augustine expresses the wish that the example of Demetrius who had received the veil of virginity might be imitated by many of her slaves.

In conclusion, then, I might summarize Saint Augustine's statements on the question of slavery in the following words: God and nature made men equal, and this essential quality is recognized by the Church. Slavery, therefore, was not in the design of the Creator, but is the unhappy result of man's sin and folly. Slavery is tolerable, for after all, it affects only the body, since the flesh may be enslaved but the mind is free. Slavery is not only not an impediment to virtue, but positively affords an unique opportunity for the practice of certain virtues, e.g., humility, forgiveness, modesty, obedience, and patience. Thus, though in itself a wretched state, yet, being conducive to the development of important elements of moral life, it is itself a way to blessedness. Thus the question of slavery or freedom is of no essential consequence.

Holding these views, he does not advocate the abolition of slavery; still less does he encourage slave revolts. While he admonishes masters to remember

that their slaves are human beings like themselves, and to treat them kindly as sons, and while he denounces the heartless and cruel treatment which slaves too often suffered, he exhorts slaves to be content with their lot and render willing obedience even to bad masters.⁶²

I said that I might summarize Augustine's statements thus, but that summary is neither original, nor was it written of Saint Augustine, but of Saint Ambrose.⁶³ Those paragraphs are well documented with references to Ambrose's works: *De Nabuthe*, *De Officiis*, *De Paradiso*, *De Joseph*, *De Jacob*, his letters, and expositions on the Gospels and Psalms. Yet, from the quotations presented in this paper taken from the works of Saint Augustine, we could substantiate the statements given above.

One of the great desiderata in the field of history is a scholarly work on the social and economic history of the period after Diocletian, comparable to Rostovtzeff's treatment of the earlier period. When, if, and as such a work is ever undertaken, Saint Augustine and Saint Ambrose will be among the important witnesses called into court to testify as to the conditions of the Roman Empire of their day. In regard to slavery, we see that the statements of the one corroborate the other, and from them we obtain a fairly good idea of the relation of slaves and free men in the last half of the fourth and beginning of the fifth centuries of the Christian era. When and if such a history as I have mentioned is ever produced, investigations such as the one that produced this paper will have their justification in having done important ground work by making available a collection of Saint Augustine's references to the question of slavery.

SISTER MARGARET MARY, C.I.M.
Immaculata College (Pa.)

NOTES

¹ The quotations collected represent a detailed check of the works in which the question most probably would be mentioned, that is, the *Sermons*, *Letters*, *Tractates on the Gospels* and

Epistles, and the following minor works: *De bono coniugali*, *De sancta virginitate*, *De opere monachorum*, *De disciplina christiana*, *De mendacio*, *De beata vita*, *De doctrina christiana*. The other works were checked through the indices of the Migne edition and the *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*.

² *De disciplina christiana* 7.

³ *Ennaratio in Psalmum*, 33, 3

⁴ *Sermones*, 77, 13

⁵ *Ennaratio in Psalmum*, 44, 22

⁶ *ibid.*, 64, 8

⁷ *ibid.*, 72, 13

⁸ cf. "Slavery" in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, Suppl. VI.944 - 1067 and Friedländer, *Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire* (London, 1908) II, 218 - 22.

⁹ *De sermone Domini in monte*, 1, 59

¹⁰ Matt. 5, 40

¹¹ *De civitate Dei*, 19, 15

¹² *ibid.*, 19, 15

¹³ *op. cit.* 4, 19

¹⁴ cf. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire* (London, 1923) I, 225; Heitland, W.E., *Agricola, A Study of Agriculture and Rural Life in the Graeco-Roman World* (Cambridge, 1921) 451

¹⁵ V.1, 547

¹⁶ *Epistolae*, 199, 46

¹⁷ *Epistolae*, 232, 4

¹⁸ *De bono coniugali*, 20 See also, *De spiritu et littera*, 21, 36, *ibid.*, 14, 26; *Contra duas epistulas Pelagianorum*, I, 16, 32

¹⁹ *Ennaratio in Psalmum*, 49, 27

²⁰ *Sermones*, 23, 3

²¹ *ibid.*, 156, 3

²² *Sermones*, 62, 18

²³ *Ennaratio in Psalmum*, 117, 13

²⁴ *Sermones*, 5, 5

²⁵ *In epistolam Joannis Tractatus* 9

²⁶ *Confessiones*, 9, 8

²⁷ *Sermones*, 36, 8

²⁸ *In Joannis Evangelium Tractatus*, 85

²⁹ *In Joannis Evangelium Tractatus*, 8

³⁰ *Sermones*, 159, 4

³¹ *ibid.*, 259, 5

³² *ibid.*, 113, 4

³³ *Ennaratio in Psalmum*, 38, 12

³⁴ *Ennaratio in Psalmum*, 73, 16

³⁵ *Sermones*, 161, 9

³⁶ *Metamorphoses*, IX, 12

³⁷ *In Joannis Evangelium Tractatus*, 43, 7

³⁸ *ibid.*, 41, 4

³⁹ *Epistolae*, 108, 18

⁴⁰ *Epistolae*, 185, 15

⁴¹ *Ennaratio in Psalmum*, 138

⁴² *Epistolae*, 185, 21

⁴³ *ibid.*, 185, 23

⁴⁴ *Sermones*, 154, 3

⁴⁵ *Epistolae*, 98, 6

⁴⁶ *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae*, 63

⁴⁷ "Slave Education in the Roman Empire", *Tapa 71* (1940) 262-80.

⁴⁸ S. Mary Emily Keenan, *The Life and Times of Saint Augustine as Revealed in his Letters*, Washington, 1935, p. 146

⁴⁹ *Epistolae*, 188, 10

⁵⁰ *De civitate Dei*, 19, 16

⁵¹ cf. Barrow, R.H., *Slavery in the Roman Empire* (London, 1922) 173-207; Cabrol-Leclercq, "Affranchissement" in *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* (Paris, 1907) II, 554-71

⁵² *Sermones*, 21, 6

⁵³ *Codex Justinianus* 1, 13, 1

⁵⁴ *Codex Theodosianus* 4, 7, 1; *Codex Justinianus* 1, 8, 2

⁵⁵ *Sermones*, 22, 7

⁵⁶ *ibid.*, 356, 7

⁵⁷ Allard, *Les Esclaves Chrétiens*, Paris, 1901 p. 215. "Des les premiers jours de la prédication évangélique, les esclaves eurent les mêmes droits que les maîtres à la réception des sacrements; ils prirent part à un titre égal aux assemblées religieuses; les rangs du clergé leur furent ouverts aussi facilement qu'aux hommes libres; ils partagèrent avec ceux-ci la sépulture offerts par l'Eglise dans ses cimetières à tous

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The *Epitaphium Sanctae Paulae*

*An Index of St. Jerome's Classicism**

AMONG THE MANY interesting letters of Saint Jerome which I believe give striking evidence of his classicism is the *Epitaphium Sanctae Paulae*, Letter CVIII in the collection. This epistle is addressed to Eustochium, the daughter of the saintly Paula, to console her for the loss of her departed mother. Written in the form of a *laudatio funebris*, the letter contains many of the elements of this particular type of literature. Jerome begins his eulogistic tribute with an expression of admiration of Paula's nobility of lineage and of her holiness of life. She was a descendant of the family of the Gracchi, says Jerome; a descendant of the Scipios, the heir of that Paulus whose name she bore, the true and legitimate daughter of Martia Papyria, who was mother to Africanus.¹ In true Ciceronian style, Saint Jerome concludes this genealogical introduction with a rhetorical flourish alluding to Paula's preference of Bethlehem to Rome, "leaving her palace of gleaming gold to dwell in a poor cottage of clay."² True to the form of the exordium of the classic consolatory address, Saint Jerome declares that he does not grieve over the loss of this perfect woman, but that he is thankful to have known her.³ He admits the inadequacy of his words in praising so admirable a woman, whose praises, he says, are sung by the whole world, who is admired by bishops, regretted by bands of virgins, and wept for by crowds of monks and by the

poor. The saint thereupon resumes the narrative presenting in detail the immediate line of ancestry of Paula's parents, of her mother Blesilla and of her father Rogatus. The former, he repeats, claims descent from the Scipios and from the Gracchi; the latter comes from a line of distinguished ancestry in Greece, in fact, "the blood of Agamemnon coursed through his veins."⁴ However, he takes up again the laudation of Paula's own merits, expressing the perfection of her virtue in a striking simile, comparing her with a perfect gem and with the brilliance of the sun.⁵ Echoing throughout the several passages following are the thoughts and words of Cicero, Seneca and Pliny. In the first book of the *Tusculan Disputations*, Cicero declares that no one has lived too short a life who has discharged the perfect works of virtue.⁶ He says that there is nothing in glory that we should desire it, but that none the less it "follows virtue like a shadow." The saint says of Paula that by shunning glory she earned glory; for glory follows virtue as its shadow and, deserting those who seek it, it seeks those who despise it. It is here that the Ciceronian *virtutem quasi umbra sequitur* is employed to express the reward of virtue. Saint Jerome then continues the life history of Paula, her marriage to Toxotius, "in whose veins flowed the noble blood of Aeneas and the Julii," and becomes reminiscent of a phrase of his favorite poet. The daughter of Toxotius, he says, is called Julia, as he is called Julius; cf. *Iulius a magno demissum nomen Iulo* (*Aen.* 1.292).

After an account of the noble lady's family, of her husband and five children, the panegyric stresses in eloquent and moving lines the subject of social service among the poor. In a series of rhetorical questions, he alludes to her

ceux qui avaient reçu le baptême. Cela nous paraît tout naturel; au I^{er} siècle de notre ère, c'était une révolution.

³⁵ Allard, P. *Histoire des persécutions pendant les deux premiers siècles*, 2nd ed. 455 - 8: *Histoire des persécutions pendant la première moitié du troisième siècle*, 2nd ed. 12-15; 201 - 5.

³⁶ *De opere monachorum* 25.

³⁷ cf. Note 56

³⁸ For a discussion of the religious life of this period, see Leclercq, "Cenobitisme", Vol. 22, cols. 3081 - 3085 DACL.

³⁹ *Epistulae*, 150

⁴⁰ F. Dudden, *The Life and Times of St. Ambrose* (Oxford, 1935) II. 544-5.

far-reaching kindnesses even to those whom she had never seen, to her charity to the poor man, to the bed-ridden person supported by her, and the hungry and sick sought out by her throughout the city. The letter continues with the story of Paula's social success, her entertainment of two most admirable gentlemen and Christian prelates, by whose virtues she was influenced to forsake her home for a life of asceticism.

It is in this pathetic account of her separation from her loved ones that we find Vergilian and Horatian reminiscences interspersed in thought and diction. To single out one instance, richly typical; in the farewell to the youngest child, the boy Toxotius, Jerome utilizes perhaps unconsciously the Vergilian *supplex manus ad litora tendit* (*Aen.* 3.592) with inflectional variations, it is true, and a parallel Vergilian expression *oculos aversa tenebant* (*Aen.* 1.482). The Horatian *siccis oculis* (*Carm.* 1.3.18) is also employed in the description of Paula's heart-rending leave-taking of her children.

The journey across the sea is minutely described, the phrase *sulcabat navis mare* harking back to Vergil (*Aen.* 10.197), and Pliny 12 *N.H.* 1, 2. Allusion to the passage of Scylla and Charybdis seems to be an incentive for additional quotations from the *Aeneid* 1.173 and 3.126-7. Paralleling the journey of the Trojans and their stop to refresh and restore their wearied limbs, Saint Jerome says Paula stopped a short time at Methone to recruit her wearied frame. The travelog, Vergilian in its terminology, contains in addition to the many geographical references of the journey, a copious outpouring of biblical and historical data. The travelers sail past Malea, Cythera's island, and the scattered Cyclades.⁷ The entire itinerary is detailed by Saint Jerome giving the complete series of stopping places up to the time of Paula's retirement from the world to a life of seclusion in her cell in Bethlehem. On mentioning Joppa in the course of

travel, the port of Jonah's flight, he cannot refrain from introducing half apologetically the fable of Andromeda bound to the rock.

Ore lambebat, a graphic depiction of Paula's ardent faith in licking with her mouth the very spot on which the Lord's body had lain, shows close verbal resemblance to Vergil's *Aeneid* 2.21 and 6.873. Then follows an abundance of scriptural references in the description of Paula's ecstatic appreciation of the Holy Places in Palestine, classical poetic phraseology interspersed throughout. Paula's exclamation on her arrival in Bethlehem is a reminder of the Roman poet's transport of admiration for Italy, hailing it as the land of Saturn, great mother of earth's fruits. (*Georg.* 2.173) Vergil exclaims: *Salve, magna parens frugum!* and Saint Jerome: *Salve, Bethlehem, domus panis . . . Salve, Ephrata, regio uberrima, atque karpophoras, cuius fertilitas deus est.*

The account of the journey made by Paula and her companions through the Holy Land terminates with the travelers reaching Egypt where they are welcomed by the ecclesiastics and religious men of the region. Not long afterwards, in the words of Saint Jerome, determined to dwell permanently in holy Bethlehem, she took up her abode for three years in a miserable hostelry, till she could build the cells and monasteries for her daughter and the maidens accompanying her, to say nothing of a guest-house for passing travelers where they might find the welcome which Mary and Joseph missed.

Having assimilated so thoroughly the works of the classical authors, Saint Jerome, it seems, finds it difficult not to incorporate occasionally the fables of poets by way of appropriate application. In defending his extravagant praise of the subject of the epitaphium he says his carping critics must not insinuate that he is drawing on his imagination or decking Paula like

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Aesop's crow, with the fine feathers of other birds.⁸

In the enumeration of the extraordinary virtues of humility, modesty, liberality, and benevolence, Saint Jerome draws from the Scriptures so copiously as to leave little occasion for use of pagan authors; however, all of a sudden alluding to the vice of envy that follows in the track of virtue, he quotes the well known line from Horace (*Carm.* 2.10.) *feriuntque summos fulgura montis* to be followed again by a series of Scriptural allusions which describe Paula's attitude in her frequent sicknesses and infirmities.

In the succeeding chapter where Saint Jerome minutely describes the order of Paula's monastery and the method of direction of her community, there is an echo of Sallust⁹ in the comment on avarice and covetousness. In the words of Sallust: "Avarice is ever unbounded and insatiable, nor can either plenty or want make it less,"—*neque copia neque inopia minuitur*. Saint Jerome, in exactly the same words, relates how Paula restricted her Sisters in order that covetousness might not take hold of them. She was afraid lest the custom of having more should breed covetousness in them, an appetite which no wealth can satisfy, for the more it has, the more it requires, and neither opulence nor indigence is able to diminish it. Then mindful it appears of the oft repeated Vergilian *Quid memorem* (*Aen.* 6.123, 601; 8.483) the Saint bursts forth again in praise of Paula's clemency and attention towards the sick and the wonderful care and devotion with which she nursed them. At the conclusion of the rehearsal of the rigid regimen Paula imposed upon herself, Saint Jerome utilizes his knowledge of the Greek philosophers when he mentions that, difficult though it be to avoid the extremes, the philosophers are quite right in their opinion that virtue is a mean, and vice an excess, or as we may express it in one short phrase, *Ne quid nimis*.¹⁰

Continuing to weave into the thread

of his discourse Biblical citations to establish his point of fact, Saint Jerome discloses the manner in which Paula avoids the captious questions of the heretics, concluding with the words—*globos mihi Stoicorum atque aëria quaedam deliramenta confingis*, "bubbles, airy nothings of which the Stoics rave."¹¹

As the *epitaphium* moves on, the Saint must needs again revert to Paula's lofty character. It is in this portion of his description of her that we read a most delightful and interesting account concerning the brilliant mind of Jerome's talented disciple. He declares that Paula knew the Holy Scriptures by heart; that she and her daughter Eustochium would by no means rest content until he had solved for them the many different solutions to their questions. The learned Doctor of the Church confesses that as a young man he had only with much toil partially acquired the Hebrew tongue, but that Paula succeeded so well that she could chant the psalms in Hebrew and could speak the language without a trace of the pronunciation peculiar to Latin. Eustochium, too, could boast of this same accomplishment.

Saint Jerome is reluctant, it seems, to come to the end of the *epitaphium*, but finally approaches the subject of the death of Paula with a rhetorical flourish, employing a metaphor Vergilian in color to be suddenly followed by the Horatian *siccis oculis*. The devotion of Eustochium to her mother is then touchingly described as also the last moments of the saintly matron. An allusion to the classic "conclamatio" which appears in this description reads as follows: *Cumque a me interrogaretur, cur taceret, cur nollet respondere inclamanti, an doleret aliquid, Graeco sermone respondit nihil se habere molestiae, sed omnia quæta et tranquilla perspicere*.

The dramatic scene of the funeral procession, the chanting of the psalms, now in Greek, now in Latin, now in Syriac by the ecclesiastics and virgins

present and her sepulture, the final eulogistic tribute emphasizing again Paula's great charity to the poor, is followed by Saint Jerome's *Consolatio* to the dear daughter of the noble Roman lady.

As practiced in the ancient consolatory address, Saint Jerome now concludes his *epitaphium* with the classic farewell to his dear departed protégée. Recalling the familiar line by which the Venusian poet predicts his own immortality, the devoted saint says: *Exegi monumentum aere perennius quod nulla destruere possit vetustas* (Hor. *Carm.* 3.31).

The Titulus Sepulchri, the epitaph which Saint Jerome had inscribed on Paula's tomb, the only poetry of Saint Jerome that has come down to us, again bears witness to the noble lineage of his friend Paula, and to his appreciation of the classic authors whom he knew so well.

*Scipio quam genuit, Pauli fudere parentes
Gracchorum suboles, Agamemnonis inclita proles
Hoc iacet in tumulo, Paulam dixere priores
Eustochiae genetriz, Romani prima senatus
Pauperiem Christi et Bethlemitica rura secuta est.*

SISTER MARY DOROTHEA DIEDERICH,
S.S.N.D.

Mount Mary College, Milwaukee

NOTES

*Read at the Third Foreign Language Conference in Lexington, Kentucky, May 11-13, 1950.

¹ Matris Africani (sc. Minoris) vera et germana progenies. cf. Plutarch, *Vit. Aemilii Pauli* c. 5; Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 15. 126.

² Auro tecta fulgentia informis luti villitate mutavit; cf. *Cic. Par.* 1. 3. 13.

³ Non maeremus, quod talem amisimus, sed gratias agimus, quod habuimus. V. C. 1.11

⁴ Rogatum proferant patrem — quorum altera Scipionum Graecorumque progenies est, alter per omnes Graecias usque hodie et stemmatibus et diuitiis ac nobilitate Agamemnonis fertur sanguinem trahere, qui decenniali Troiam obsidione delevit. V. C. 108. 3.11.

⁵ Et sicut inter multas gemmas pretiosissima gemma micat et iubar solis paruos igniculos stellarum obruit et obscurat, ita cunctorum virtutes et potentias sua humilitate superavit minimaque fuit inter omnes. V. C. 108. 3. 11. (Cf. *Lucr.* 3.104 [Ed.])

⁶ cf. *Cic. Tusc. Disp.* 1.109; *Sen. Epist.* 79.13; *Plin. Epist.* 1.8. 14.

⁷ Inter Scyllam et Charybdim Adriatico se credens pelago quasi per stagnum uenit Methonen

ibique refocillato paululum corpusculo. . . . et sale tabentis artus in litore ponens, per Maleas et Cytheram sparsasque per aequora Cycladas et crebris. . . . freta concita terris. cf. *Aen.* 1.173; *Aen.* 3. 126-7.

⁸ *Phaed.* 1.3; *Hor. Epist.* 1.3.

⁹ *Sall. Bell. Cat.* 11.

¹⁰ *Ter. Andr.* 61.

¹¹ cf. *Chrys. ap. Eustath. ad Hom. Iliad* 23. 66.

Courses and Personnel for the Workshop in Latin
De Paul University, Chicago, Aug. 5-18.

LATIN EXEMPLAR CLASS: Elementary
Father Sherlock

Purpose: To illustrate the teaching of Elementary Latin to a group of children who have had no Latin.

THE TEACHER OF LATIN (Aug. 5, 6, 7)
Doctor Murley

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF LEARNING
(Aug. 9, 10, 11) Doctor Connelly

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF TEACHING (Aug. 12, 13, 14) Doctor Connelly
(Dr. Connelly was formerly Chairman of the Department of Education, Chicago Teachers' College, and is now Principal of Foster Elementary School, and teaching Courses in Education at the Teachers' College and at De Paul University.)

THE TEACHING OF LATIN IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS Miss Ring, M.A.
(Miss Ring has been teaching Latin at De Paul for over 20 years, and is one of our real "old-timers.")

LATIN EXEMPLAR CLASS: Advanced
Father Sherlock

Purpose: For the first half, to illustrate with a group of students who have had one or two years of Latin the teaching of Cicero, with emphasis on SYNTAX; for the second half, the teaching of Vergil, with emphasis on METER and SCANSION.

FOUR LECTURES

1) ANCIENT HISTORY AND THE TEACHING OF LATIN Doctor Fries

(Dr. Fries is Chairman of the Department of History, De Paul University)

2) THE HISTORY OF LATIN LITERATURE AND THE TEACHING OF LATIN Miss Ring

3) ROMAN LETTER FORMS (Calligraphy) Mr. Hayes

(Mr. Hayes is a consultant for R. R. Donnelly and Sons, Printers and a noted authority and calligrapher in the field of ancient Roman writing)

4) LATIN AND THE ROMANCE LANGUAGES Doctor Hoffmann

(Dr. Hoffman is Professor of French and Spanish at De Paul University)

Besides, these formal "hours", there will be the teaching of visual, aural aids, with slides, phonograph records, and various other materials. Too, we try to acquaint the attendants with the various journals dealing with the Classics, discuss text-books, and have some of the members conduct the Exemplar classes so as to illustrate their own methods, etc.

We See . . .

By the Papers

Edited by John F. Latimer

OCCUPATION LUXURY IN GERMANY

AN INTERESTING archaeological discovery has recently come to light in Butzbach, Germany (*The Washington Post*, Jan. 31, 54). U.S. bulldozers were clearing an Army housing site for the Twenty-second Infantry Regiment when fragments of pottery, iron knives, silver and copper coins and other objects were uncovered. Further excavation revealed cement floors of 12 houses on two different streets. Archaeologists were called in and they identified the remains as Roman and the site as quarters occupied by the Twenty-second (a strange coincidence!) Roman Legion on garrison duty in 88 A.D. (This was the year of the abortive revolution staged by Antonius Saturninus against Domitian).

"Scientists said the Rome government sent wives and mistresses to keep up the legionnaires' morale, the finest Italian wines flowed freely, and that the sturdy homes were littered with primitive lipsticks, nail files and hair pins, rings, ornaments and perfume bottles." They also said that the troops lived in elaborate houses decorated with erotic 'pinups', and that the "facilities excelled American housing projects that have come under congressional scrutiny."

According to the Army report, "The Roman houses were built with cement bases, brick foundations and wooden walls covered with fire-hardened plaster. An examination of the cement floors shows no signs of cracks or decomposition. German archaeologists state that the cement is superior to that in current use and that only the prohibitive cost of the substance keeps it from general acceptance."

And perhaps the possibility of a Senate investigation!

LATIN SHOULDER PATCH

In scelus exsurgo, Sceleris discrimina purgo. "I rise up against wickedness, I purge crises of wickedness."

The Latin motto is to appear, according to an announcement from NATO, reported in "TOPICS OF THE TIMES" (*The New*

York Times, Jan. 31, 54), at the bottom of the shoulder patch of their headquarters personnel. On the patch, which is shaped like a shield, a castle indicates the concept of defense. Behind the castle is a sword symbolizing military strength.

This device and motto, as medievalists will recognize, are straight out of the Middle Ages. Charlemagne adopted the motto in 800 when he was crowned Emperor by Pope Leo III in Rome. Together they represent the earliest symbol of European unity which the heraldic experts at NATO could discover, and they were chosen with the present hopes of Western Europe in mind. Although that political unity lasted for only about fifty years, a sense of cultural unity, "of which the Latin language was the most useful vehicle," survived for many centuries, and its traces are still discernible.

"The Latin motto . . . will recall a great debt of Western Europe to Charlemagne. This debt is due for the 'revival of learning' which he fostered, and the attention he directed toward the old Graeco-Roman culture . . . Alcuin, the learned Englishman from York," was his chief educational adviser, and it may be that he was responsible for the Latin motto. But Charlemagne or Alcuin or both, the shoulder patch, Latin and all, is a symbolic link with the past they typified, and a true symbol, we hope, of that political and cultural unity toward which the free world must inevitably move.

URGENT LATIN

ARE RUSSIAN LEADERS more aware of the importance of Latin in an educational system than our leaders in America? To raise the question is not to answer it, for the determination of educational objectives stems from no single source in this country and most certainly from no central authority. Neither is it answered by simply referring to the "total control" philosophy at work in Russia.

Nevertheless evidence of a change in attitude toward Latin has been seeping through the brass curtain. (In this writer's opinion the term "iron curtain" is psychologically bad and metaphorically untrue.) Information about the latest evidence is found in a letter to the *London TIMES* (Dec. 23, '53) by D. B. Gregor and relayed to this Department by Theodore Jungkuntz of the University of Missouri.

Mr. Gregor cites as his source an article on "The new organization of Latin teaching in Soviet Middle Schools," published in *Menander* (No. 10, 1952), the journal of

the Polish Classical Association. In it "the author quotes at length from the fourth number of the Soviet review, *Linguistic Problems*, which devotes a whole section to the teaching of Latin."

In the words of Mr. Gregor, "It appears that the decline in the teaching of Latin in Russia was largely due to the influence of the linguistic theories of the school of Marr. When Stalin's intervention in the linguistic battle led to the discrediting of Marr the claims of Latin were re-examined. It was found that a knowledge of Latin was indispensable to the proper understanding of Russian; that it contributed to accuracy of thought and language; that the classics of Marxism had always advocated it; that Lenin had known and used it; that teachers of modern languages were ill-equipped without it; that candidates for chairs in Indo-European linguistics ought to have studied it; in short, that no Soviet citizen is properly educated without Latin."

This line of reasoning may not seem completely sound, even to the Russians, but it sounds typical. Mr. Gregor thought he detected a sense of urgency in the articles to which he refers. If so, the urgency was coming from the top and it may be communicated to the underlings in the different strata below. In this country we Latin teachers should also have a sense of urgency about the need and place of Latin in our national life. Let us communicate that feeling to our fellow citizens—that is the democratic way. (For other accounts of Latin in Russia, see this column in 48 (Oct. 52) 10 and (Feb. 53) 158.

GREEK AND DEMOCRACY

DIPLOMACY depends on the right choice of words, and when diplomats divorce words from their true meaning they prostitute the diplomatic art, insult intelligence, and make reasonable negotiation impossible. Secretary John Foster Dulles undoubtedly had some such ideas in mind at the recent Big Four Conference in Berlin when he "had to remind Mr. Molotov that the Russians, in their insistence on 'democratic' principles in a German election, were twisting the word 'democratic' out of all relation to the meaning it has borne for 2,000 years. (Reported in the "TOPICS OF THE TIMES" for Feb. 14, 54.)

For the historical proof that Mr. Dulles was not stating the case amiss the TOPICS' writer turned to Herodotus. "When Mardonius arrived at Ionia in his voyage by the coast of Asia (in the spring of 492 B.C.), he did a thing which I here set down

for the wonder of those Greeks who will not believe Otanes to have declared his opinion among the Seven (who had made a revolution and set up Darius as King); Mardonius deposed all the Ionian despots and set up democracies (*demokratias*) in their cities." (Herodotus, 6.43; trans. A. D. Godley, *Loeb Class. Libr.*)

Although the writer perhaps by implication over-estimates the extent to which "democracies" were set up in Ionia, Herodotus did use the term "in a sense that was well understood by the people of his own and all later time—down to the Russian Revolution." And while "the ancient meaning with the emphasis on the *demos* is not exactly the same as the present meaning with the emphasis on the rule of the majority, . . . the essence of democracy has been unchanged since the days of Herodotus."

That is, for all except the Russians. As "Lord Bryce . . . could add today . . . the German Democratic Republic, the Government of East Germany and the Soviet Model for an all-German Government, is neither German (being ruled from Moscow), nor democratic (denying majority rule), nor a republic (having no representative government) . . . The one form of government the Communist system has not resembled is democracy. It is an unwilling tribute to the vitality of the democratic ideal that the pitiful Russian satellite states call themselves 'people's democracies.'"

If it is true, as it undoubtedly is, that "during all the ages of imperial and feudal rule, men who never ceased to read Plato and Aristotle knew what was meant by 'democracy,'" we can partially understand the present plight of Russia and her Satellites. Shall we not also equally understand what a vital contribution of the study of Greek could make to survival of the true concept of democracy right here in America?

MEANING OF 'DEMOCRACY'

In a discriminating paper (CP 49.1-14), presidential address before APA in 1952, J. A. O. Larsen distinguishes significantly between the spirit of democracy and (that with which he is really concerned) the governmental practice of it. Even in antiquity, the term 'democracy' did not mean all that we mean by it and requires careful definition in that connection. There was not a little experimenting with the democratic

(See page 377)

BOOK REVIEWS

Colucii Salutati *De laboribus Herculis*, edidit B. L. ULLMAN. Turici in aedibus Thesauri Mundi [1951]. Pp. xiv, 660. (Distributed in the United States by the Mediaeval Academy of America, Cambridge, Massachusetts.) 2 vols., \$6.

INFREQUENTLY does a reviewer have the pleasure of describing a nearly perfect critical edition; seldom can he salute the *editio princeps* of a work important in the history of Occidental culture; and rarely indeed has he the privilege of congratulating the world of learning on the appearance of a new series of texts comparable in function and scholarship to the Bibliothecae Teubneriana and Oxoniensis. When he can enjoy all these satisfactions simultaneously, he may be pardoned for remarking that this is a *dies albo signandus lapillo*.

The "Thesaurus Mundi," *Bibliotheca scriptorum Latinorum mediae et recentioris aetatis*, undertaken by the laudable enterprise and high idealism of a new publishing house in Zürich, is designed eventually to include all the noteworthy and otherwise unavailable works written in Latin from the fall of the Roman Empire to the present day. It should ultimately, therefore, form a collection considerably larger in bulk than the complete Teubner series; two volumes in addition to the present work have already been published, sixteen are announced as in press, and others, I understand, are being prepared by their editors. The volumes are, happily, inexpensive by contemporary standards, attractively bound in cover-stock, handsomely and accurately printed on paper of good quality. The editions are strictly critical and scholarly: each text is carefully edited with a full apparatus, and the introductions are concisely written in the language of scholarship, so that the series, whose editors represent most of the nations of the Occident, is truly international.

The importance of this new series cannot be overestimated. It promises to remove what is now the major impediment to the study of the generating forces of Western culture. Everyone who has concerned himself with the history of learning, with the Renaissance, or with Neo-Latin literature (which is not inferior in either extent or excellence to the literature of any modern language) has soon found himself thwarted by the inaccessibility of necessary texts; the majority of sources, including even

those which once enjoyed wide popularity, are now available only in printed editions which have become rare or at least bear a date which makes over-zealous librarians mistake them for the Golden Fleece and guard them accordingly, while many works of major intellectual significance are yet unprinted. To the student in these fields the Thesaurus Mundi is a veritable benefaction, and it is to be hoped that everyone who can will contribute to its progress at least by insisting that his college subscribe to the series, and perhaps by purchasing some volumes for his own collection even if they do not contain authors in whom he is primarily interested.

The present volumes contain Professor Ullman's long-awaited *editio princeps* of what Coluccio Salutati considered his major work.

The Renaissance, for all practical purposes, began with Petrarch, who died in 1374, leaving as his intellectual heirs Boccaccio, who was himself awaiting death, and Salutati, the Chancellor of Florence, who was then forty-three and in the plenitude of his powers. In the remaining thirty-two years of his life Salutati was the foremost champion and apostle of the new learning, and he was the true link between Petrarch and the great Humanists of the Fifteenth Century, who styled him *doctorum virorum quasi communis parens* and, at his death, mourned the loss of the *refugium omnium eruditorum, lumen patriae, Italiae decus*. Although he has left little that can be read as literature for its own sake, and although he was surpassed and eclipsed by his successors before the introduction of printing, Salutati was a major figure in the intellectual history of Europe. He was, so far as we know, the first man to recognize the major divisions of Occidental history, which now seem so fundamental: Antiquity (which he divided into a Classical Age, Silver Age, and the Decadence), Middle Ages, the Modern Era.¹ He was the first writer clearly to formulate a doctrine of Classicism.² Latent but unmistakable in his thought is the ethical tension of the whole Renaissance, the conflict between Christian standards of passive virtue and the pagan standards of personal achievement and glory.³ His treatise on tyranny so influenced the later Humanists that it may even be possible to defend the German editor who, in a moment of hyperbolic enthusiasm, described Salutati as a more im-

portant political thinker than Machiavelli.⁴ But Salutati's contemporaries, perhaps, esteemed him most for his vigorous defense of literary studies against the numerous, impassioned, and vociferous obscurantists, fanatics, and charlatans, who were no less prominent and powerful in his day than in ours. In his opinion the work here edited was to be the crowning achievement of his life, and it is, in a sense, his last defense of learning, for it remained incomplete at his death.⁶

The first book of the *De laboribus Herculis* is a formal vindication of poetry and, since poetry is always the crucial issue in such controversies, of all humane learning. The historian of culture will find it most instructive to observe how much in some ways, and how little in others, the arguments employed and their presentation had changed since Petrarch's *Collatio* and the concluding books of Boccaccio's *De genealogia deorum*. Like his predecessors, Salutati places great emphasis on the claim that all poetry contains latent allegorical and anagogic meanings, and the remainder of his treatise, in which he seeks to expound all the multiple implications of the myth of Hercules, is an application of this system of exegesis to enforce the validity of this argument for literary studies. Nothing so elaborate was ever attempted by the later Humanists, who were always willing to use the same argument, at least for eristic purposes, although their faith in the method itself rather rapidly declined.

The treatise, even to a reader who remembers that its purpose and effect was to sustain and promote the vital Renaissance principle that literature and the self-realization that it makes possible are a primary interest of man, will seem at first sight wholly Mediaeval. The style is frequently uncouth and barbarous. This is partly the fault of the age, for a knowledge of correct usage was but slowly recovered from the imperfect texts of classical writers, and impeccable Latin prose is not to be found in any writer of the Fifteenth Century—not even in the author of the epoch-making *De elegantia lingue Latine*, but it is also, in a sense, intentional, if I am not mistaken. Salutati, whose style, if not strictly correct, is easy and pleasant in many of his letters, and who was doubtless flattered by a contemporary's accolade, *Ciceronis simia merito dici potest*, here becomes virtually Mediaeval when he undertakes formal expositions and imitates scholastic argumentation. He is seeking to convince men who were trained, as he had been, in

the Mediaeval tradition, and therefore adopts a method which almost inevitably requires the phraseology and forms of expression long associated with it.

Salutati's exegesis will seem fantastic. The modern mind dismisses as absurd the proposition (II,3) that the story of Zeus and Semele is an allegorical declaration that grapes are ripened by the sun—although, to be sure, the same type of interpretation appeared profound a few years ago when it was propounded by Max Müller. We must laugh at the notion (IV,3) that in tales of descent to the underworld Orpheus represents Epicureans, Theseus and Perithous symbolize the pragmatism of the common man, and Hercules and Aeneas enact the triumph of Stoicism—for it is only when comparable symbols are found by equally vaporous metaphysics in James Joyce or Ezra Pound that we are obliged to reverse the operations of the New Criticism. To find (II,10) in the story of Amphitryon a covert sexual meaning is surely preposterous—in the absence of a supporting quotation from Freud. The contemporary intellectual, therefore, will find nothing of value in Salutati except his exposition (I,7) of the sacrosanct and self-evident doctrine of progress.

To the cultural historian, however, error, whether past or present, is in itself a significant truth, for the accumulated experience of our race is essentially the chronicle of our fallibility. And even apart from such philosophical considerations, the *De laboribus Herculis* may be recommended to everyone seriously interested in literary criticism. It is much more than a collection of absurdities; it is a most instructive exposition of one way in which a sensitive and perceptive mind could present to itself its delight in literature. That Salutati's exegesis is so wildly fantastic makes it but the more valuable as a commentary on our own inability to produce a satisfactory definition of poetry, that bright and elusive gleam that touched our souls with strange wonder, and sent us to spend the rest of our lives among lexica and *Handbücher*. Fully to understand poetry we should need, as Salutati (III, pr.) saw, nothing less than *omnium rerum scientia*, for all the liberal disciplines are mutually dependent. But if we have the Humanist's courage, we shall accept the cultural paradox, and strive but the more ardently to reach what we know we can never attain: *discamus igitur et quantum possumus proficiamus*. This faith in the intrinsic autonomous value of humane studies is our most precious heritage

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from the Renaissance. When it is lost, we shall know that the Dark Ages have returned.

After remaining in manuscript for five and three-quarters centuries, Salutati's work now appears in an edition that is a model and a monument of editorial care and scrupulous accuracy. In addition to the full apparatus, which reports the significant readings of all the known manuscripts, Professor Ullman has provided extraordinarily complete *testimonia* and given exact references to the sources of Salutati's very numerous direct and indirect quotations, including the many definitions and etymologies which he took from the only reference works available to him, the dismal fabrications of Papias and Hugutio. The reader cannot be sufficiently grateful for the years of scholarly labour which are here compressed into a few lines on each page; he has been given not only a key to a text that would otherwise be a series of enigmas, but what is virtually an inventory of the furnishings of Salutati's mind.

In work of such high and sustained excellence even Zoilus could find little to moderate his applause.⁵ It may be that in two or three places the consensus of the manuscripts is too faithfully reproduced in the text; of this I feel certain only in II, 3, 2, which I should emend where the *studiosus* is referred to Boccaccio "apud quem composita atque digesta reperiet non solum quaecumque alii leguntur, sed quae alibi legi non possunt." And since the treatise is incomplete, the editor might well have placed at the end of Book IV the few lines from Villani⁷ which alone attest the bold and highly significant argument which Salutati intended to employ in explaining the apotheosis of Hercules.

Professor Ullman has appropriately inaugurated the "Thesaurus Mundi" with the finest edition of a Renaissance author ever to appear in print.

REVILO P. OLIVER

University of Illinois

NOTES

¹ *Epistolario di Coluccio Salutati*, a cura di Francesco Novati, Roma, 1891-1911, Vol. III, pp. 79 ff.

² Cf. R. P. Oliver, "Salutati's Criticism of Petrarch," *Italica*, XVI (1939), 53 ff.

³ Cf. Oliver, "Plato and Salutati," *T.A.P.A.*, LXXI (1940), 317, 324-34.

⁴ Alfred von Martin, *Salutati's Traktat "Vom Tyrannen"*, Berlin, 1913, p. 65. The *De tyranno* has also been edited by Francesco Ercole, Berlin, 1914, and Bologna, 1942.

⁵ It would perhaps be more accurate to say that Salutati's last vindication of learning was his attack on Giovanni Dominici; see the text

in the *Epistolario* cited above, Vol. IV, pp. 206 ff., and B. L. Ullman, "The Dedication, Copy of Giovanni Dominici's *Lucula noctis*," *Medievalia et Humanistica*, I (1943), 109-23.

⁶ I have noted only three typographical errors: p. v, l. 9 read *prosequitur*; p. 186, apparatus 2. 11 delete); p. 636, apparatus 1. 1 read *praefationis* p. IX. I suspect that identification of the quotation in II, 19, 4 has dropped out of the *testimonia*.

⁷ *Liber de civitatis Florentiae famosis civibus*, ap. Novati, *Epistolario*, Vol. IV, p. 492. The point is not discussed in the first draft of Salutati's treatise, more limited in scope and perhaps also incomplete, which Ullman has edited and appended to the later version, pp. 584-635.

LATIN OR ITALIAN?

The accompanying poem, written by Mattia Butturini, Professor of Greek in the University of Pavia in 1766, and published in the *Perseveranza* of 9 December, 1900, by Signor Pio Bettoni, was given to me by Professor A. H. Baxter, formerly Professor of Italian in Amherst College. It is interesting, not only as a *tour de force*, but as exhibiting the close relation between the two languages, when a composition can be read as either Latin or Italian.

ARTHUR STANLEY PEASE

Harvard University

Elogio a Venezia

Te saluto, alma Dea, Dea generosa,
O gloria nostra, o Veneta regina!
In procelloso turbine funesto
Tu regnasti secura; mille membra
Intrepida prostrasti in pugna acerba;
Per te miser non fui, per te non gemo;
Vivo in pace per te. Regna, o beata!
Regna in prospera sorte, in pompa
augusta,
In perpetuo splendore, in aurea sede;
Tu serena, tu placida, tu pia,
Tu benigna, me salva, ama, conserva.

'DEMOCRACY'

(From page 374)

process; but, especially in Rome, it did not figure much in practical politics. An important thing to which they applied our word was *responsible* government, ultimately subject to review by the people — whatever form it took in a given case. Larsen's article provides no little clarification of the whole matter for those interested. I may add on my own, that democracy and aristocracy are far from being opposites.

[Ed.]

SCRAPBOOK (from page 340)

Foreign Languages in Secondary Schools, '50; Iowa Department of Public Instruction Course of Study in Foreign Languages, '41; Oregon State Department of Education Course of Study in Latin, '50; Department of Public Instruction, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

Latin Course of Study, '44; Fresno, Calif., Public Schools

San Diego Course of Study for Senior High Schools, '43

The Status of Latin in the West Virginia Schools; Department of Classics, West Virginia University, Morgantown, W. Va.

"Why Study Latin in Schools?" Answers by 84 college administrators; available at 25c, Service Bureau of the A.C.L.

"Why Study Latin in Schools?" Answers of College teachers; available at 10c, Service Bureau of A.C.L.

"Preparing for a Medical Education and Practise"; State University of Iowa

Course of Study in Latin, '45; Akron High School, Akron, Ohio, (out of print)

Outlines for Foreign Languages in Junior and Senior High Schools, '42; Curriculum Laboratory, Berkeley, Calif. Public Schools, (out of print)

Klier, F. J.: Language Teaching in Wisconsin Public Schools, '42; State Department of Education, Madison (out of print)

JUNIOR CLASSICAL LEAGUE'S FIRST NATIONAL CONVENTION

Estella Kyne, Wenatchee H.S., Washington, releases as Publicity Chairman the program which the J.C.L. national officers have announced for their first national meeting, to convene at Incarnate Word High School, San Antonio, Texas, June 13-15, 1954.

Saturday Evening, June 12, Meeting of the National Officers

Sunday Morning, June 13, Registration and attendance at church of the delegates' choice.

Sunday Afternoon 2:30 - 3:30 First Business Meeting; Alvin Dungan, Wenatchee (Wash.) High School, National President in charge

4-5 p.m. Program of Work Committee
7:30 - 8:30 Vesper service on lawn of Incarnate Word HS, Texas Federation in charge

8:30-10:30 Reception; Indiana Federation in charge

Monday, June 14

9-11:30 Federation, Constitution, and Fi-

nance Workshops Address, "Take Latin and See the World," Miss Adeline Reeping, Pennsylvania State Chairman, Latrobe, Pa.

1:30 Workshops for Publicity, Membership, and Bulletins; Ohio Federation in charge

6 p.m. Pennsylvania Federation in charge of dinner

8-9 p.m. Second Business meeting; Illinois Chapters in charge

Tuesday, June 15

9-11:30 Third Business Meeting; Michigan Federation in charge

1-5 p.m. Tour of San Antonio; Henderson, Texas, Chapter in charge

* Reservations for the meeting are being received by Miss Mildred Sterling, 3022 Edmonds, Waco, Texas.

INDIANA LATIN WORKSHOP

The Department of Classics at Indiana University will present *The First Indiana Latin Workshop*, June 17-July 9. This program, for high-school teachers and other students of the field, will carry three hours of graduate credit and may be combined with other courses given in the regular summer-session for a total of four-nine credits. Its main purpose is to provide an occasion for persons with a common interest in Latin to study several aspects of Latin language, literature, and culture which are equally important for a knowledge of the field and for the presentation of the field to students. The Workshop will combine traditional and new aspects of the subject. It will feature various approaches to the presentation of elementary Latin, including the latest materials for the new linguistic approach, under the instruction of Prof. Fred W. Householder, Jr. There will also be a choice among study-groups on: aspects of Roman art and archaeology under Prof. Verne B. Schuman and Prof. Otto Brendel; Cicero, the private citizen; the relationship between Greek and English; and the *Aeneid* as literature under Prof. Norman T. Pratt, Jr. Opportunities for the informal discussion of problems will also be provided. A special folder containing details may be obtained from the Department of Classics, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

SUI CONFERENCE (Apr. no., p. 291) adds to its faculty: Eldo Bunge (Eng. Dept., Washburn University, Topeka; Magda Glatzer (art instructor), Augustana College, Rock Island.

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Et summis admiratio
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Edited by Grundy Steiner

Scholarship must occasionally sit back and take stock of itself, state the reasons for its existence, and share some of its results with society in general, if only to justify its existence to its own practitioners. The first three items noticed here are devoted to these matters. Even the fourth can be said to be "popular"—in the best sense of the term. The fifth, however valuable, is not meant to be read.

Of Scholarship and Heritage

American Scholarship in the twentieth century. Edited by MERLE CURTI. With essays by MERLE CURTI, LOUIS WIRTH, W. STULL HOLT, RENE WEL-LEK, WALTER R. AGARD, ARTHUR E. MURPHY. (*The Library of Congress Series in American Civilization.*) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953. Pp. xi, 252. \$4.50.

THE AUTHORS of the essays which comprise this volume discuss in succession "The Setting and the Problems" (a compact yet somewhat detailed consideration of the general topic, including such matters as the shifting emphasis upon various fields within the social sciences and the humanities, the relation of American to European scholarship, and questions of academic freedom and the social responsibilities of the scholar), "The Social Sciences," "Historical Scholarship," "Literary Scholarship," "Classical Scholarship," and "Philosophical Scholarship." The footnotes are assembled at the back where brief biographical notes about the contributors and an index are to be found.

Professor Agard, in his essay on Classical scholarship, considers first how American Classical scholarship had shifted from humane to scientific interests in the nineteenth century under the impact of German training, and then illustrates the principal contributions of American scholars, noting the common tendency to confine "themselves chiefly to careful study of certain limited areas" (p. 151). He next turns to the question of scholarly manpower to complete the work which remains to be done, sketching briefly the course of Classical apologetics in its various phases. Finally he considers the value of courses in litera-

ture in translation, integrated programs, and the presentation of the fruits of Classical study to adults via popular publication and the radio, and even systematic study on the adult level. In this popularization he clearly expects to find a far stronger bulwark for the Classics than in purely defensive campaigns.

His essay is a very satisfactory brief account of Classical scholarship within the half century, although one might have expected to find some hint, outside the footnotes, of the contributions of refugee scholars (a point briefly mentioned by Curti in his introductory essay). On page 154, in line 9, read "that" for "the" although possibly several words have been lost in the printing.

The Greeks and the Education of Man. By WERNER JAEGER. (*Bard College Papers.*) Annandale-on-Hudson, N.Y.: Bard College, 1953. Pp. 19.

THIS ADDRESS was delivered on October 6, 1953 in the Hoffman Memorial Library of Bard College upon the sixtieth anniversary of the building. It is a brief summary of ideas dear to the heart of the author of *Paideia*, a presentation which, for its simplicity and modernity, belongs in any collection of statements about the contributions and values of the ancient classics to the culture of the present.

Hellenism and the Modern World. By GILBERT MURRAY. Boston: The Beacon Press, 1954. Pp. 60. Cloth \$1.50; paper \$0.75.

IN LIKE MANNER any library of Classical apologetics should be enriched by adding the excellent set of six fifteen-minute talks presented by Gilbert Murray first on the Radio-diffusion Française in 1952 and then on the BBC Home Service in the spring of 1953. They are models of clarity, brevity, and the selection of illuminating detail. They should be in the hands of anyone who cal, especially Hellenic, studies.

Professor Agard finds the soundest de-

fense of the Classics not in traditional apologetics but in more successful popularization. The two little publications by Professor Jaeger and Murray represent apologetics at its best—in the hands of experts who know how to address themselves to general audiences—and either might be quoted graciously in connection with courses in Classical civilization. Both authors are masters at the insertion of illuminating asides. Both end on the note that Hellenic civilization, quite apart from its literary contributions, has a moral and historical lesson for the modern world.

Of Triumphs and Indexes

Triumphalia: Imprese ed onori militari durante l'impero romano. By Concetta Barini. Torino: Società Editrice Internazionale, 1952. Pp. 221. L. 700.

AS THE SUBTITLE indicates, this work recounts military exploits and honors during the period of the Roman Empire. It is intended for the educated layman as well as the specialist, according to the preliminary description, and would seem not to miss the mark.

The introduction contains a simple, yet highly graphic account of the triumph as celebrated (and as it developed) in the Republic, and concludes with an account of the shift to the presentation of *ornamenta triumphalia* under the Empire. Ten chapters follow which summarize some sixty-nine triumphal honors (of record) paid from the time of Augustus until 404 A.D. The campaigns preliminary to these honors are reported in varying detail; hence the account is really an epitome of Roman military history.

The work is rather fully indexed. The illustrations (thirty-eight in number) are none too clear, and the paper is not the best, but the narrative account is highly readable, even for the non-expert, and the footnotes present generous documentation, especially from ancient sources.

Repertorium Lexicographicum Graecum. A Catalogue of Indexes and Dictionaries to Greek Authors. By HARALD and BLEND RIESENFELD. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1954. Pp. 95. Sw. Cr. 22:00.

THIS IS INTENDED as a replacement, after two-score years, of the lists of Greek in-

dexes and dictionaries by Schöne and Cohn. It is intended to cover Greek literature from its beginnings to the end of the Byzantine epoch, although indexes to editions of papyri, inscriptions, and ostraca are not included. The comprehensiveness of the indexes is indicated by terms like "complete" and "brief selection."

In one sense this is a thankless sort of task, for such a compilation must always be cut short by its publication deadline. Despite the authors' exclusion of most glossaries of technical terms (p. 6), the Scholfield indexes to the 1953 Cambridge edition of the poems of Nicander, is a logical supplement to the list, and so is the second volume of Pfeiffer's *Callimachus* with its sixty-eight page index. Probably the most helpful thing a publisher could do in this connection is to bind such lists with interleaves, so that the careful reader could insert each year's new crop of publications. But in another sense this is a task earning gratitude, for anyone who has need of a handy catalogue of word-lists to Greek authors will be constantly in debt to the Riesenfelds and their publishers.

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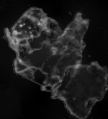
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